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vast domain, they can say, without a shadow of insincerity, "Let there be no strife between us and you; for we be brethren." Numerous organizations can collect larger funds, and manage them more judiciously, than could a great central association, the responsibility of which was claimed by no single denomination. Nor can we find in the history of missions any beyond the slightest record of mutual jealousy or animosity, or of any less Christian form of competition, than that by which the different sects have endeavored to "provoke one another to love and to good works."

We have entire confidence in the ultimate success of the missionary enterprise. Christianity triumphantly surmounted, ages ago, far greater obstacles than now lie in the way of its progress. Its whole empire has been wrested from the grasp of Paganism, as degraded, as inveterate, as stubborn, as the forms with which it now contends. Because we believe it the truth of God, revealed for man, and adapted in its form of communication to the nature, faculties, and wants of man, we doubt not that man under every mode of culture, may be brought to the intelligent reception of its truths, the practice of its duties, and the enjoyment of its hopes. We receive as from divine inspiration the predictions of the Hebrew seers and of the Christian apostle, which foretell the entire regeneration of the human family, and cannot but believe that man will yet rewrite in history the brightest pages of prophecy.

ART. III. — *De l'Esprit Public en Hongrie, depuis la Revolution Française.* Par A. DEGERANDO. Paris. 1848. 8vo.

DURING the past year, the attention of the civilized world has been directed with lively interest towards the progress of the war in Hungary. The spectacle of a gallant people fighting single-handed for their independence against fearful odds, the gigantic powers of Russia and Austria, the ancient champions of despotism, being strenuously exerted for months in what appeared to be a vain attempt to crush them, was enough to awaken the warmest sympathies of the lovers of

freedom all over the globe. The accounts which reached us from the distant scene of conflict were various and conflicting, but on the whole so favorable to the cause of the insurgents, that when the news at last arrived of their final and entire discomfiture, it excited as much disappointment as regret. It was evident that the preceding accounts of astonishing victories gained by the Hungarians over vastly superior forces had been grossly exaggerated, even if they had not been entire fabrications. The theatre of the struggle was near the eastern confines of civilized Europe, and all the intelligence which came to us from that distant region had been filtered through German and French newspapers, and colored by the various hopes and purposes of those who disseminated the reports with the intent of affecting public opinion by them, and of gaining sympathy and aid for one or the other of the contending parties. As we have rejoiced over victories which had never been gained save in the excited imaginations of those who reported them, it is worth while to look a little more closely into the nature and causes of the war, and to ascertain if the motives and aims of the belligerents have not been as much misrepresented as their actions. The Hungarian question is an intricate and difficult one; but as the decision of it is likely to have an important influence upon the politics of Europe for a long period to come, an attempt to render it more intelligible may be useful and interesting even on this side of the Atlantic. We depend for information chiefly on M. Degerando's book, and on a series of excellent articles contributed by E. de Langsdorff and H. Desprez to the *Revue des deux Mondes*.

Though the war in Hungary began as early as September, 1848, a Declaration of Independence was not adopted by the Hungarian Diet till the middle of April, 1849. In the intervening months, though much blood was shed and the contest was waged with great exasperation on both sides, it had the aspect of a civil war between different portions of the same empire, the weight of imperial authority being thrown alternately on either side, according as the vicissitudes of the conflict caused the one or the other party to adopt a position which was more favorable to the interests of the emperor. Thus, Jellachich and his army were at first denounced by the imperialists as rebels; and after the Slavonic rebellion in

Bohemia had been crushed by the bombardment of Prague, the Austrian marshal Hrabowski commenced a campaign against the favorers of that rebellion in Croatia and Slavonia also, while the Hungarians, acting on the side of the imperialists, menaced the same countries with invasion from the north. But the Austrian cabinet soon found that Jellachich was less to be dreaded than Kossuth, and that the Slavonians were disposed to be more loyal subjects than the Magyars. By a sudden shift of policy, therefore, the Croats were taken into favor, and their redoubtable Ban at the head of his army was commissioned by the emperor to put down the insurrection in Hungary. Still the Hungarians did not declare their independence of Austria till the young emperor proclaimed a new and very liberal constitution for all his subjects, of whatever race, language, or province, in March, 1849. In this instrument it was formally declared, that "all tribes have an equality of rights, and each tribe has an inviolable right to *preserve and foster its nationality and language.*" The Hungarians proper, or the Magyars, had no sooner heard these words, than foreseeing how popular they would be with the Slavonians, the Wallachians, and the Saxons, to whom they secured emancipation from the sovereign sway and masterdom which the Magyars had exercised over them for centuries, than they forthwith declared their own independence of Austria for the sole purpose of retaining these races in their former state of subjection and dependence. The declaration which they issued, consequently, was not so much a declaration of their own independence, (already amply secured by the concessions of the emperor a year before, concessions which made the connection of Hungary with Austria merely nominal,) as a protest against the independence of Croatia and Slavonia. Its object was not to justify the rebellion of Hungary against Austria, but to accuse Croatia of rebelling against Hungary, and to criminate the emperor for favoring that rebellion. The Magyars assumed the position, therefore, of a nation striving to impose or to continue the yoke upon the necks of their own dependents, instead of laboring to throw off a yoke from their own shoulders. It suited the haughty and imperious spirit of this aristocratic race to bring this accusation against their hereditary monarch of favoring a set of rebels against their own sove-

reignty. Their complaint reminds us of the feudal barons chiding their king for emancipating the commons, and thus erecting a barrier against the tyranny of the nobles.

A brief extract from the Hungarian Declaration of Independence, dated at Debreczin, April 14th, 1849, will show the true character of the quarrel between the two countries.

“Croatia and Slavonia were chosen to begin this rebellion, because in those countries the inhuman policy of Prince Metternich had, with a view to the weakening of all parties, for years cherished hatred against the Hungarian nation. By exciting in every possible manner the most unfounded national jealousies, and by employing the most disgraceful means, he had succeeded in inflaming a party with rage; although the Hungarians, far from desiring to oppress the Croats, allowed the most unrestrained development to the provincial institutions of Croatia, and shared with their Croatian and Slavonian brethren their political rights, even going the length of sacrificing some of their own rights, by acknowledging special privileges and immunities in those dependencies.

“The Ban revolted, therefore, in the name of the Emperor, and rebelled openly against the King of Hungary, who is, however, one and the same person; and he went so far as to decree the separation of Croatia and Slavonia from Hungary, with which they had been united for eight hundred years, as well as to incorporate them with the Austrian Empire. Public opinion and undoubted facts threw the blame of these proceedings on the Archduke Louis, uncle to the Emperor, on his brother, the Archduke Francis Charles, and especially on the consort of the last-named prince, the Archduchess Sophia; and since the Ban in this act of rebellion openly alleges that he acted as a faithful subject of the Emperor, the ministry of Hungary requested their sovereign by a public declaration to wipe off the stigma which these proceedings threw upon the family. At that moment affairs were not prosperous for Austria in Italy; the Emperor, therefore, did proclaim that the Ban and his associates were guilty of high treason, and of exciting to rebellion. But while publishing this edict, the Ban and his accomplices were covered with favors at Court, and supplied for their enterprise with money, arms, and ammunition. *The Hungarians*, confiding in the royal proclamation, and not wishing to provoke a civil conflict, *did not hunt out those proscribed traitors in their lair, and only adopted measures for checking any extension of the rebellion. But soon afterward the inhabitants of South Hungary, of Servian race, were excited to rebellion by precisely the same means.*

"These were also declared by the King to be rebels, but were, nevertheless, like the others, supplied with moneys, arms, and ammunition. The King's commissioned officer and civil servants enlisted bands of robbers in the principality of Servia to strengthen the rebels, and to aid them in massacring the peaceable Hungarian and German inhabitants of the Banat. *The command of these rebellious bodies was further intrusted to the rebel leaders of the Croatsians.*"

The war in Hungary, then, on the part of the Magyars, was neither a struggle for national independence, nor an attempt to establish a republic on the wreck of their ancient monarchical and aristocratic institutions. Hungary is the most aristocratic nation in Europe; nowhere else are the distinctions and immunities of the nobles so strongly marked, or the nobles themselves so numerous in comparison with the whole population, or the dividing lines between the privileged and unprivileged classes preserved with so much care. The fourth resolution appended to the Declaration of Independence expressly provides, that "the form of government to be adopted for the future shall be fixed by the Diet of the nation," in both branches of which the representatives of the titled and untitled nobility have a great superiority of numbers, and exercise undisputed control; where, in fact, till within a few years, the third estate, or the commons, were hardly represented at all; and to which, even now, the peasants, who constitute four fifths of the population, do not send a single representative. The resolution goes on to say, that "until this point shall be decided, *on the basis of the ancient and received principles which have been recognized for ages*, [that is, acknowledging the absolute supremacy of the Magyar race in the country which they conquered, and where they have been lords of the soil and the dominant nation for eight or nine centuries,] the government of the united countries, their possessions and dependencies, shall be conducted on the personal responsibility, and under the obligation to render an account of all his acts, by Louis Kossuth." In short, a temporary dictatorship was established, absolute power being confided, not to a military commander, a course which the pressing exigencies of the war might well have justified, — but to a civilian, who was to exercise all the authority which, in a republican insurrection, is usually delegated to a legislative assembly.

The Croatians and other Slavonians are not the only people, who, in this singular Declaration of Independence, are denounced as rebels. One of the charges specified in it against the imperial government is, that "the *traitorous* commander" in Transylvania "stirred up the *Wallachian peasants* to take arms against their own constitutional rights, and, aided by the rebellious Servian hordes, commenced a war of Vandalism and extinction." Here, as in other passages, this remarkable document bears less resemblance to the declaration of a people who have risen in arms against their rulers to vindicate their liberties, than to a manifesto of those rulers intended to censure and subdue such insurrection. It is an appeal to the ancient institutions of the country ; a vindication of the just authority of the governors over the governed ; a reproof of rebellion. How the Hungarians could be engaged in a contest at the same time with their hereditary sovereign and with their own rebellious subjects, is the problem which we seek to solve by investigating the former position of the parties in respect to each other, and the circumstances out of which the war arose.

Hungary, with a territory no larger than that of Virginia and North Carolina united, has a population of about ten millions and a half, made up of at least half a dozen distinct races, who speak as many different languages and dialects. Among these, the Magyars, who are the dominant race, and have long owned all the soil and held the whole political power of the country in their hands, number about 4,200,000. The Slavonians are rather more numerous, but are divided into many distinct tribes, which inhabit different portions of the country, and speak what was originally one language ; the several Slavonic dialects have marked peculiarities, yet do not differ so widely but that the different tribes can understand each other. The Slowacks, who inhabit the north of Hungary, and number about 2,200,000, seem most nearly allied to the Czechs of Bohemia, another Slavonic tribe who began the recent revolutionary movement in the disjointed empire of Austria. The Rusniaks, a third Slavonic tribe are 300,000 in number. The inhabitants of Croatia, who are of the Slavonic race, number about 700,000 ; and there are as many more of the Servians, of the same descent, who live within the borders of Hungary. Add to the Magyars

and the Slavonians about one million of Germans, another million of Wallachians, 250,000 Jews, and a few thousand Greeks, Armenians, and Gipsies, and you have the heterogeneous population of Hungary proper. The population of Transylvania, which has long been a dependency of Hungary, and was united with it in the recent war, consists of 260,000 Magyars, 260,000 Szeklers, a rude tribe allied to the Magyars, 250,000 Germans, and 1,300,000 Wallachians. On the Military Frontier, again, there are nearly 700,000 Croats, 200,000 Servians, 200,000 Germans, and 100,000 Wallachians. Taken in its largest sense, therefore, Hungary has a population of about fourteen millions, of whom less than one third are Magyars, rather more than a third are Slavonians, one sixth are Wallachians, and only one twelfth are Germans. The prevailing languages, of course, are the Magyar, the Slavonic in all its dialects, the German, and the Wallachian, no one of which has any affinity with another.

There is as great diversity of religious faith, as of language and race, among this singular population. The Wallachians are nearly all of the Greek church, more than half of them, however, being schismatics. Most of the Slavonians are Romanists, and the Catholic is the established church in Croatia, where no protestant can hold an office under government. The Germans are chiefly Lutherans, and nearly half of the Magyars are Calvinists. The Unitarian is one of the three established churches of Transylvania, having been introduced into that country by a queen of Poland in the sixteenth century; though the Wallachians form nearly two thirds of the population of the duchy, their church, which is the Greek, is only tolerated.

The dominant races, or "sovereign nations," as they call themselves, have labored to render their supremacy as conspicuous as possible; in their ordinary employments and in military service, in the civil, political, and religious institutions of the country, the dividing line between them and the "subject nations" is very broadly marked. This distinction, so universal and conspicuous, having been acknowledged and uncontested for centuries, has prevented any amalgamation of the different races with each other; and thus the Magyars, the Wallachians, the Saxons, and the Slavonians have lived for ages side by side, each preserving their own language,

religion, occupation, habits, and all their national characteristics as distinct and broadly separated from each other as they were when the fortunes of war and the migrating propensities of their ancestors first brought them in contact, and established them on the same soil. The subject nations, both Wallachian and Slavonic, are a rude and uneducated people, who have never been able to acquire the languages of their masters, which are fundamentally different from their own ; and this circumstance alone has raised an insuperable bar to intercourse between them. They are also, for the most part, of a mild and unambitious disposition, patient and laborious, and firmly attached to the customs of their ancestors. They are the aborigines of the country, the first possessors of the soil upon which the Huns, the Turks, the Magyars, and the Germans have subsequently established themselves by right of conquest. Submission and inferiority have been enforced upon them through so many generations, that they have become the badges of their tribe ; and it is only within a few years that the idea of resistance, or the possibility of asserting an equality of rights, has even occurred to them.

Here in America, where emigrants coming to us from all the nations of Europe, and submitting themselves to the crucible of our republican institutions, are fused in the course of one or two generations into one homogeneous mass, different languages, temperaments, habits, and characters, all blending together and disappearing almost as rapidly as the gases sent out from a chemical laboratory are diffused and lost in the great body of the outward atmosphere, we can hardly believe it possible, that, in another country, several distinct races should live side by side, crowded together within a comparatively small territory, and still remain as distinct from each other, and preserve all their original differences as strongly marked, as when circumstances first brought them together centuries ago. But it is so ; these broad differences of race exist, and the feelings of rivalry and mutual hostility, which so naturally result from them, must show themselves when once the dominion of the foreign sovereign, the common master who originally held them all in equal subjection and at peace with each other, is withdrawn, and national independence allows full scope for the national tendencies to produce their appropriate effects. Hungary is the eastern outpost

of civilized Europe ; its position made it the first stopping-place in the migration of those hordes from central Asia, which prostrated the Roman empire in the west, and afterwards so often menaced the independence of the several kingdoms which were established upon its ruins. It was therefore both the earliest and the latest sufferer from these incursions. Attila pitched his tents here before he swept over the fairer regions of Italy and Gaul ; in 1526, the last independent king of Hungary was defeated and slain by the Turks in the fatal battle of Mohacz, and the greater part of the country remained subject to the Ottomans for a century and a half, till the heroic John Sobieski accomplished its deliverance. From that time it has remained subject to Austria, its union with this empire being necessary for its protection against the Turks, and essential for the freedom of its communication with western Europe. Its perilous position, and the frequent wars of which it has been the theatre, have kept alive the military spirit of its people, and preserved its military institutions in complete vitality. But its remoteness and isolation have prevented it from sharing in the improvements of modern times ; and its institutions, military, civil, and political, are those of the Middle Ages. The Feudal System existed there but yesterday in full vigor ; all the land was held by the nobles on condition of military service, and on failure of direct heirs reverted to the crown. The peasants were serfs attached to the soil, and could bring no suit against their feudal lord except in his own manorial court, where the noble was judge in his own cause. The distance between the vassal and his lord was rendered more broad and impassable by the fact that they belonged to different races, and spoke different languages. The differences of employment and social position contributed to perpetuate the distinctions of race ; the Magyars, proud of their noble birth, would follow hardly any profession but that of arms. And they scorned the foot service ; a century or two ago, they served as knights and mounted men-at-arms ; now, they form the most splendid cavalry in the world, and leave the Croats and other Slavonians to fill the ranks of the infantry. The Szeklers, the kindred in race of the Magyars, are born soldiers ; more rude and uncultivated than their splendid kinsmen in Hungary, they are equally haughty, and more fierce and savage ; woe to

those who dare encounter them in the course of a civil war, for even their tender mercies are cruel. When the passions of the Magyars are not excited, however, their conduct is neither overbearing nor tyrannical ; they have too much real bravery, and are too high spirited and generous, for the one or the other. The patient and laborious Wallachians and Slavonians have tilled the ground for them for centuries, hardly conscious how firmly the yoke of servitude rested on their necks.

Hungary has been aptly compared to an old feudal castle, with its donjons and moats, its battlements and portcullis, which the modern reformers wished to transform at once into an elegant and convenient modern habitation. The first step necessary in so sweeping a reform was to level it with the ground ; and those who had made this rash attempt soon found that they had miscalculated the strength of the antique and massive pile. They succeeded only in pulling down some of the outworks upon their own heads. Among these classes so widely separated, among races that are foreign, and even hostile, to each other, with different religions, different tongues, and different civilizations, it was vain to think of introducing the modern ideas of democracy and equality ; and the Magyars themselves have never attempted it.

The Magyars inhabit chiefly the central and eastern portions of Hungary, having the Slovaks on the north, the Wallachians on the east, and the Croats and other Illyro-Slavonians on the south. The great estates of their titled nobles, or magnates, as they are called, extend over every portion of the country, as the other races, till quite recently, owned little or no land in Hungary proper, except in the free cities, where the land had been freed by purchase, or released from feudal obligations by the favor of the crown. It is estimated by the latest statisticians, that the nobles, who are all Magyars, number at least 600,000, including women and children, so that one seventh part of this dominant race enjoy the privileges of rank ; but the magnates do not exceed two hundred in number, most of whom own vast possessions. The untitled nobility have the entire control of the lower house, or second table, as it is called, in the general Diet, this house being composed chiefly of representatives from the county assemblies, and the affairs of the counties, (*comitats*),

of which there are about sixty in the kingdom, are regulated exclusively by the Magyar nobles. Thus, as the magnates form the great majority of the upper house, or first table, the whole legislation of the kingdom is in the hands of the nobility. All the Magyar nobles own land, which the poorest of them are often obliged to cultivate with their own hands, as any employment in commerce or the mechanic arts is considered derogatory to their rank, and they do not often engage even in the learned professions. The Magyars who are not noble form the higher class of the peasantry; and though not often rich, they have generally most of the necessities, and even the comforts of life, as the feudal burdens on their lands are not excessive, and their tenant rights are often very valuable. Whether peasants or nobles, they pride themselves on their race, and regard the Wallachians and Sclavonians as their subjects, if not as inferior beings.

The Magyar language stands by itself, having no affinity or relationship with any other language in Europe; *lingua sine matre et sororibus*. There are only two other languages on the continent, the Biscayan or Basque, and the Finnish, which are equally isolated; some philologists have attempted to trace an affinity between the Magyar and the Finnish, but the prevailing opinion now is, that the resemblance between them is too slight to afford sure grounds for believing that they sprang originally from the same stock. The Hungarian is said to be a noble language, having a great variety of verbal inflexions, and abounding in majestic and sonorous expressions, so that it is admirably adapted to the purposes of oratory; but it is of very limited use, having hardly any literature, and only a few learned philologists, besides the Magyars themselves, are acquainted with it. This peculiar character of their language alone is enough to point out the Magyars as comparative strangers in the country which they inhabit and own, its former possessors having been deprived of the soil and reduced to servitude. Their attitude in this fair region is still that of conquerors lording it over the ancient inhabitants, who have never succeeded in shaking off the yoke which was imposed on them nearly a thousand years ago. Leaving aside for the present the changes which have been made within the last ten years, it may be said that all the political and civil institutions of the country were contrived

exclusively for the benefit of this dominant race, who form, be it remembered, less than a third part of the population ; and down to the outbreak of the recent war, these institutions were exclusively controlled and managed by them. The Magyar peasants, it is true, had nothing to do with the direction of affairs, though their interests, so far as they came in conflict with those of the Sclavonian and Wallachian peasants, were, of course, protected by the great body of the Magyar nobility, who owned all the land, and made all the laws. The guaranties of Hungarian independence, so frequently alluded to in speaking of the union of the country with Austria, were nothing more than stipulations in favor of the privileges of the nobles. The engagement to respect "the ancient constitution" of the land, which was a part of the coronation oath whenever a new emperor of Austria was crowned king of Hungary at Buda, was simply a promise to do nothing to disturb the domination of the Magyar race, and to respect the rights and immunities of the nobles. That these immunities were precious in the eyes of the nobles, and were jealously guarded, we can well believe, inasmuch as they secured to them entire exemption from taxation, all the burdens of the state being borne by the peasants.

So far was this principle carried, that, down to 1840, the nobles were not required to pay the ordinary toll on passing the bridges which were erected for the public convenience. "I shall never forget," writes M. de Langsdorff, "the impression I received when, on the bridge which crosses the Danube at Pesth, I saw every peasant, every poor cultivator of the ground, rudely stopped and compelled to pay toll both for himself and for the meagre horses harnessed to his cart. The tolls are heavy, amounting to a considerable sum for these poor people ; while the Magyar gentlemen, mounted on fine horses, or seated in elegant carriages, passed and repassed without payment. I had read, it is true, that the Hungarian noble was exempted from all public contributions, was subject to no personal tax, and that all burdens fell on the peasants ; but there is a great difference between the mention in print of some old injustice of the laws, and the immediate and irritating spectacle of a social wrong. I felt that I belonged to the party of the vanquished, and like them I offered to pay. But the toll-gatherer, perceiving that I was

a stranger, refused my money, and told me that the tax was intended only for the serfs. This exemption, it is true, was a small affair, and tyranny has other practices that are far more odious ; but from that time I was no more astonished by the inequalities and anomalies which I witnessed during the rest of my journey ; I had foreseen them all on the bridge at Pesth."

As the bridge was built from the public funds, which are supplied exclusively by taxation of the peasants, the injustice of allowing the nobles to pass free is still more obvious. It was one of the grand reforms effected by Count Széchény, that the Diet, in 1836, was induced to vote that the nobility should be subject to toll on passing the fine suspended bridge by which it had been resolved to supersede the floating one at Pesth. The nobles deserve the more credit for this act, for as they have the entire control of both tables of the Diet, they were called upon to vote down one of the privileges of their own order. Though the amount of the toll was insignificant, the passage of the law was acknowledged to be a point of great importance, as it would sacrifice one of the most cherished principles of the ancient constitution of the country, — the exemption of the nobility from all public contributions whatever. Count Széchény had labored strenuously to prepare the public mind for the change by the pamphlets which he had published on the subject ; and he took the lead as a debater in the Diet in favor of the measure. After the debate, opinions seemed so equally divided that the Palatine, who presided, durst not declare that the bill had passed in the usual way, by acclamation ; for the first time in the history of a Hungarian Diet, and though there were great doubts of the legality of such a course, the votes were ordered to be counted, and, in a full house, a majority of six were reported on the side of generosity and justice.

The present position of the Magyars in Hungary is very much what that of the Normans in England was, for the first century or two after the Conquest. Though William had fair pretensions to the crown by right of birth — his title, in fact was quite as good as that of Harold — he treated the Saxons, after he had subdued them, as if his only claim to their allegiance rested upon the sword. He exercised all the rights of a conqueror according to the ideas of his own bar-

barous age; and his chivalrous but rapacious nobles, with their greedy followers, eagerly seconded his designs. To break the spirit of the conquered Saxons by the insults as much as by the losses inflicted upon them, to proscribe their language as well as to rob them of their estates, to ridicule their habits, and to brand them as an inferior and degraded race, who were unfit to hold office and unworthy to bear arms, was the settled policy of the earlier Norman kings. The Norman French was the language of the court, the nobility, and the parliament, of all legislative acts and legal proceedings, from which, indeed, it has not entirely disappeared even at the present day. The chief captains of the invading army became the great barons of the realm, who were afterwards prompt enough to vindicate the privileges of their order against the arbitrary will of the monarch, but who took very little care of the liberties of the commonalty. But luckily the Normans were not numerous in comparison with the whole body of the Saxon population of England; and as they had to cross the channel to arrive at their new domain, they could not always bring their wives and daughters with them. The fair haired Saxon maidens did more towards the emancipation of the English people than did their fathers and brothers, for they soon began to lead captive their Norman conquerors. In the course of a few generations, very little Norman blood remained entirely pure in the island. A mixed race quickly formed a mixed language, and the English compound soon showed itself more generous and fertile than either the Norman or the Saxon element uncombined. The conquerors were like a mighty river rushing into the ocean with such force as to drive back the waters of the deep, and preserve its freshness some miles from land; but the contest is too unequal, the force of the stream is soon spent, and its sweet waters are finally lost in the saltness of the multitudinous waves.

Normandy sent forth a little army that was able to conquer England, but was not numerous enough to possess it. Little more than a century before the period of that invasion, the Asiatic hive of nations had sent forth one of its great swarms of Tartar breed, men, women, and children, carrying their tents, rude household utensils, and pagan gods along with them, to find fresh pastures for their herds on the rich fields

of Europe. The fertile plain of central Hungary afforded them their first resting place; the degenerate descendants of Trajan's Roman legions, who now call themselves *Roumani*, or Wallachians, and the ancient Slavonic races, who were probably the aborigines of the country, offered but a feeble resistance to these fierce invaders. They were either driven into the fastnesses of the Carpathian mountains, or were reduced to servitude, and compelled to till the lands which were no longer their own. But the easy conquest of Hungary did not satisfy the rapacious and warlike spirit of the Magyars. Leaving a portion of their horde behind them, the others passed on, and carried the terror of their arms far into Germany and Italy, and even to the borders of Spain. As their habits were nomadic, and they were exercised from infancy in archery and horsemanship, they were able to make annual incursions into the more civilized countries around them, baffling their enemies by the swiftness of their movements and the suddenness of their attacks, and bringing back to their newly adopted land a rich booty from the cities which they had plundered and burnt. So much consternation did they create by these inroads, that the Christian nations of that period regarded them as the Gog and Magog of the Scriptures, the signs and forerunners of the end of the world. But their power was at last broken by two severe defeats which they received, in succession, from Henry the Fowler and Otho the Great. The latter one was so overwhelming, that it humbled the spirit of the nation, who thenceforward kept within the limits of Hungary, where the fertility of the soil, and the enjoyments procured for them by the patient labor of the Slavonians and Wallachians whom they had reduced to servitude, gradually weaned them from their fondness for hazardous excursions, and gave them a taste for sedentary life and the arts of peace. But they preserved their individuality as a race, because they had brought their women and children with them from Asia, and they scorned to intermarry with their subjects, whose language was a mere jargon in their ears. Thus isolated from surrounding nations, the warlike and nomadic spirit of their ancestors was kept alive in them, and on fit occasion it flamed forth as of old. They no longer invaded other lands, but they fortified their own mountain fastnesses, and for three centuries the

integrity of their territory was not violated by foes from without.

Barbarian conquerors leave nothing to the vanquished; the Magyars appropriated to themselves the whole of the soil of Hungary, and their laws rendered it impossible that any portion of it should ever be alienated from them. The theory which they adopted was, that the whole territory belonged to the king, as he was the only representative of the entire nation; in respect to its immediate occupation and use, the ground was partitioned among them on strictly military principles. The officers, or petty chieftains, down to the lowest, received estates the size of which was proportioned to their rank and to the number of men whom they had commanded; these men, the common soldiers, with their families, were to live upon the estates of their officers, and by their labor, when they had not Sclavonian or Wallachian serfs enough to labor for them, to support both themselves and their former commanders. The descendants of these officers, who seem to have been very numerous, form the present Hungarian nobility; the Magyar peasants are the offspring of the common soldiers, or privates. The title of the crown is indefeasible; the noble has only what is called the right of possession, *jus possessionis*, in his estate; on the failure of his posterity—usually, on the failure of the male line only, but sometimes after both the male and female lines are extinct,—the land reverts to the king. Only the descendants of the person who first received the estate can hold it in perpetuity; they may dispose of it if they please, but then the purchaser cannot hold it after this family from whom he received it becomes extinct. The crown can always reclaim the land, though it may have changed hands several times, whenever it can be shown that there are no heirs of the original possessor in being. So, also, the purchaser cannot retain possession, if any heir of the first owner, however remote, or at a day however distant from the time of transfer, chooses to refund the purchase money with interest, and thus reclaim the estate. Practically, therefore, land in Hungary is inalienable; it is loaded with a sort of double entail,—first, in favor of the crown, secondly, in favor of the family of the first owner. Any one may buy it, indeed, but he does so at a great risk;

for if the family from whom he bought it becomes extinct, the crown will take it away from him; and if it does not become extinct, any member of it, at any time, can regain the land by refunding its price. These two rights, which affect all the landed property in the kingdom, are called *fiscalitas*, or the right of the exchequer, and *aviticitas*, or the right of ancestry. It is no matter of surprise, therefore, that the land should have remained for so many centuries exclusively in possession of the Magyar nobility.

All estates are held on condition of military service, the possessors of them being bound to bring into the field, at the call of the crown or the Diet, a number of soldiers proportioned to the extent of his lands. The peasants retain their holdings on the same tenure; so that, in an *insurrection*, as the levy *en masse* in Hungary is called, every male in the kingdom who derives his subsistence from the land, and is capable of bearing arms, is drawn into the service. As military duty is thus connected with the ownership of land and the rights of the nobility, the position of the Magyars in the country has always retained its primitive aspect, as a military encampment. The free cities are innovations in the ancient constitution; their existence proves that even feudal Hungary has not been able to fence out altogether the spirit and the improvements of modern times. Their inhabitants are chiefly Germans, Jews, and Slavonians, engaged in commerce and the mechanic arts; and they are not subject to this onerous obligation of military service. But the political power goes along with the military, and what the *bourgeoisie* gain in the freedom and ease of their position, they lose in influence. The nobles, that is, the Magyars, have the control of the army, and direct the whole course of public affairs. They alone, as we have seen, compose the county assemblies, or congregations, which meet four times a year, and send delegates to the general Diet, which has the supreme legislative power of the kingdom.

The situation of the peasants, in reference to that of the nobility, is not one of so great hardship and injustice as we might at first sight suppose. The peasants do not own the lands which they cultivate, but hire them of the proper landlords on what may be called a perpetual lease; only, instead of paying a fixed sum annually, which would be called rent,

they are held to pay all the taxes or public burdens, to pay tithes also, part of which go to the landlords and part to the clergy, and to perform certain other services for the benefit of the owners of the estate. The aggregate of all these burdens does not amount to a fair rent for the value of the land ; the proof of which is, that a peasant's holding, or his tenant-right, is good property, which commands a price in the market, and as such is often bought up by the lord of the manor himself. It is evident, therefore, that there would be great injustice in freeing the land at once from these feudal obligations without compensating the land owners, as this would amount simply to a transference of the property to the tenants without an equivalent, and the nobles would thus be robbed of their entire estates. On the other hand, if the feudal burdens were taken off, and the land restored without incumbrance to its former owners, the peasants would be greatly injured by the change, as they would be obliged to pay full rent for what they now enjoy at a price much inferior to its annual value. The matter was thus regarded in the Diet, where the question has been debated for the last thirteen years, all parties being equally desirous of emancipating the peasants from these feudal obligations, and all acknowledging that the lord of the manor is indisputably the owner of the land, and that he cannot justly be deprived of it without an equivalent. The only question was, whether the landlords should be indemnified by the state, out of a fund to be raised by a loan for that purpose, or whether they should be paid by annuities, chargeable for a term of years on the peasants themselves, who could afford to pay them if released from the burdensome conditions upon which they had hitherto enjoyed their holdings. The Austrian government took the lead in urging the Diet to settle the question by adopting one or the other of these methods ; and its advice would probably have been followed if the revolution had not intervened. Kossuth and his party hastily cut the knot by decreeing the abolition of the feudal burdens, making over the entire ownership of the lands to the peasants, and promising to indemnify the landlords out of a fund to be created by confiscating the property of the clergy. This was simply robbing Peter to pay Paul, because the assistance of Paul was needed to carry out the revolution. Nobody, it was supposed, would care about the plunder of the church.

The Magyars continued to be pagans for a century after their establishment in the country. But when they had become domesticated on the soil, and had begun to cultivate peaceful relations with their neighbors, Christianity made its way among them in spite of the obstacle created by their peculiar language, which has always retarded their assimilation with the other nations of Europe. St. Stephen was their first Christian king, and his name is still revered among them as the founder of their institutions, and the Charlemagne of their race. He was crowned by Pope Sylvester II. with the famous crown of gold, which was till recently preserved at Buda, as the palladium of their nation; the Scotch did not regard with greater reverence the famous stone in the royal seat at Scone. St. Stephen systematized their institutions, but did not alter their essential character, which remained as it was under Arpad, the chieftain who led them into the country. In the main, their government was that of a feudal kingdom, its peculiarities being the great number of the nobles, and the domination of the whole race over the Slavonians and Wallachians. Their position was one well suited to develop a military spirit, aristocratic tendencies, and an intense feeling of nationality. They became as haughty, brave, and rapacious as the Normans, though not so refined, owing to their remoteness from the civilized capitals of western Europe. On account of their greater relative numbers, and the patient and unenterprising character of the races whom they had subdued, their dominion was more secure at home than was that of the Normans in Sicily, France, or England; but they were exposed to greater dangers from without. Asia continued to pour forth its barbarian hordes upon Europe, long after their establishment in Hungary; and in their frontier position, they were the first objects of attack for enemies of a like origin with themselves, but now of a dissimilar faith. They were valiant and skilful in war, but they could not bring out the whole strength of the country against its invaders, since their oppressed subjects cared little about a change of masters; and therefore they sometimes experienced severe defeats. Yet their renowned kings, John Huniades and Matthias Corvinus, saved Europe from conquest by the Turks, and repeatedly drove back in disgrace the army that was flushed with the recent conquest

of Constantinople. In 1526, however, the youthful king of Hungary was totally defeated and slain by the Turks in the fatal battle of Mohacz. The Magyars never retrieved the effects of this disastrous fight; the defeat at Mohacz is still deplored among them as the saddest event in their history, for it was the final wreck of Hungarian independence. Since then, they have found protection from their enemies only by their union with Austria, whose yoke they have often rebelled against, but have never entirely shaken off.

Yet there was little in this union with Austria to wound the national pride except of a very jealous and sensitive people. It was as an ally more than as a subject province, as a sovereign power submitting to certain common restrictions for the purchase of certain common advantages, that Hungary made choice, so long as her monarchy remained elective, of the emperor of Austria to be her king, and finally, in a Diet held at Presburg in 1687, acknowledged the hereditary right of the same family to reign in both countries. After the memorable scene with Maria Theresa, this right was extended, according to the terms of the Pragmatic Sanction, to the female line. It was not, indeed, till after her union with Austria was confirmed, that Hungary was entirely released from the Turks, who had retained possession of full half of the kingdom from the battle of Mohacz till they were defeated and driven out by the heroic John Sobieski in 1683. During this period of national humiliation and distress, the Magyars hesitated whether to throw themselves under the exclusive protection of the Austrians or the Turks, who divided the country between them. Though Ferdinand I. of Austria had become their rightful sovereign after the death of the unhappy Louis II., whose sister he had married, and whose right, of course, was transmitted to her descendants, the Austrian rule was so distasteful to them, that they invoked the aid of the Ottomans against it, and in the final struggle, the noted Tekeli and his partisans fought with the Turks against Sobieski. Fortunately for Christendom, the body of the nation at length preferred to unite itself to Austria, and thus to strengthen the eastern frontier of Europe against the Ottoman power, instead of contributing directly to its advancement. But for this decision, the kingdom would probably have become, what Moldavia and Wal-

lachia are now, nominally subject to the Porte, but really dependent upon Russia.

The real cause of dislike of the Austrian alliance was the fear entertained by the nobles lest the abundant privileges of their order, which they had wrested from their native princes, should not be respected by the despotic house of Hapsburg. As in every other feudal kingdom, there had been a long struggle for the mastery between the crown and the barons ; and the issue of this contest, owing to the great number of the nobility, was far more unfavorable to the regal power in Hungary, than it was in France and England. King Andreas II. had been drawn into the Crusades, and on his return from Palestine, he found that his subjects had taken the same advantage of him which the people of several other European countries had reaped from the absence of their sovereigns in the east ; the royal power had fallen into decay, the nobles had usurped what the crown had lost, and had entered into a conspiracy to protect their usurpations. He was obliged to yield, and to grant to the rebels the celebrated Golden Bull, which is to Hungary what Magna Charta is to England, except that it secures only the nobility in their rights, and leaves the peasants and the subject nations just where they were, a prey to the oppression both of the barons and the crown. This instrument, which is still frequently appealed to as the most important chapter in the constitution, secures to the nobles freedom from arrest except by due course of law, perpetual immunity from all taxation whatever, the right, when their privileges are attacked, of legal resistance without incurring the penalties of treason, and freedom from any obligation to obey the king till after his regular coronation. The Hungarians might well be jealous of the unwillingness of a despotic power like Austria to tolerate privileges so extensive as these ; yet so important has the union with Hungary been to the military strength of the empire, and so much caution has been used not to provoke discontent among this warlike people, that these privileges have been respected, and the Magyar noble has retained to this day more power and immunity than he could have enjoyed under the liberal constitution of England.

The truth is, Hungary has always been independent except in name ; she has enjoyed her own constitution,

her own legislature, the right of electing her own palatine, and of determining the measure of assistance which she would grant Austria in case of war. The union of the two countries was a union for their common good, to strengthen the hands of both against their common enemies, the Russians and the Turks. Hungary had no greater cause to dread an Austrian sovereign, than England had to fear the accession of James VI. of Scotland. The cases were entirely parallel; the late monarch was styled the emperor Ferdinand I. at Vienna, and king Ferdinand V. at Presburg. Hungary being far the largest and most powerful of the many states which form the conglomerate empire, and having a numerous order of nobility, who enjoyed the most extensive constitutional privileges, were warlike in their habits, and could bring strong bodies of their vassals into the field, an advantage not enjoyed by any other portion of the Austrian dominions, there was more reason that Austria should be jealous of her, than that she should be jealous of Austria. Scotland, not England, had cause to dread the accession of her sovereign to the throne of both kingdoms.

Besides, political reasons of great weight forbade the separation of Hungary from the empire. On account of its geographical position, its absolute independence would cause its isolation; it would be thrown off from the civilization and the politics of western and central Europe into semi-barbarism, surrounded by Russia and Turkey, by the people of Wallachia, Servia, and Bulgaria. Austria, it has been well observed, is now the bridge that connects her with European civilization; it would be ruinous policy to convert that bridge into a barrier. Hungary proper is entirely inland, she has no seaport, no outlet for her commerce; for even the Danube, her only natural highway to the sea, flows in the lower part of its course through the dominions of Turkey, and its mouth is also commanded by Russia. Either of these powers, therefore, might at any time cut off the communication of Hungary with the Black Sea. Croatia has the poor roadstead, rather than seaport, of Fiume on the Adriatic; and the wish to secure even this inconvenient and distant opening to the Mediterranean is doubtless one of the reasons why the Magyars have been so anxious to preserve Croatia as a dependency of Hungary. Separated from Austria, deprived

of Croatia, and cut off by the Russians and the Turks from the navigation of the Danube, Magyar-Hungary would be like an isolated tree planted in a soil where there is no water, the branches and foliage of which would wither in a single season.

It was only the restless and domineering spirit of the untitled Magyar nobility, aggressive and fiery in temperament, and panting not so much for absolute independence as for entire control of the more patient, industrious, and unambitious races, Sclavonians, Germans, and Wallachians, by whom they are surrounded, which kindled the recent war, and so conducted it as to arm every one of these races against themselves; and thus, in spite of their own matchless bravery and enthusiasm, and the misplaced sympathy of the republican party throughout Europe and America, to bring down upon their heads the united powers of Austria and Russia, and finally to sink in the unequal struggle. Had they begun by the abnegation of the enormous and unjust privileges of their own order and the insolent supremacy of their race; had they offered confederation and equality of political rights to Croat and Slowack, Saxon and Wallachian, their united strength might have dashed in pieces the Austrian empire, and the Russian troops would never have crossed their borders. But they aimed to procure dissimilar and incompatible objects; to retain the economical and political advantages of a union with Austria, without submitting to any control, or tendering any equivalent; to be admitted to all the privileges enjoyed by the Hereditary States, without bearing any portion of their burdens; to vindicate their own independence against the empire, but to crush the Croats and Wallachians for daring to claim independence of the Magyars; to "hunt out those proscribed traitors in their lair," to stifle "the rebellion in south Hungary," to lay waste with fire and sword the Saxon colonies in Transylvania, and then evoke the indignation of Europe against the interference of Russia, whose troops entered Hermanstadt *at the urgent entreaty of these Saxon colonists*, in order to save them from utter destruction by the merciless Szeklers and Magyars.

We have said that the immediate cause of the Hungarian Declaration of Independence was the publication, by the

youthful emperor of Austria, of a very liberal constitution for all his subjects on the 4th of March, 1849. So bountiful was this constitution in granting political privileges and securities to all Austrian subjects, without distinction, that the Magyars had no ostensible ground to complain of it, except that which is stated in their declaration; that it divided what they call *their* territory "into five parts, separating Transylvania, Croatia, Sclavonia, and Fiume from Hungary, and creating at the same time a principality for the Servian rebels," and thus "paralyzed the political existence of the country." The justice even of this complaint is not very obvious; for Transylvania has always had a diet of her own, Croatia and Sclavonia united also have one, and the degree in which these diets depend on, or are subject to the Hungarian Diet, has never been accurately determined. The Croatian Diet protests against any such dependence or subjection whatever, and for very good reasons; for it is permitted to send but three delegates to the Diet at Pesth, which is wholly controlled by the Magyar nobility. What power would these three delegates have to protect the interests of the provinces which they represent, and which have an exclusively Sclavonian population? It is evident that the separation of these four provinces from Hungary, with which, indeed, they have never been properly or rightfully united, was absolutely necessary in order to carry out another article of the new Austrian constitution, which is the real object that the Magyars protest against. This article is the one we have already quoted, which secures an equality of rights to all the different races of the empire, and guarantees to each the privilege of retaining its own nationality and language. Other articles declare, that "for all the races or nations of the empire there is but one general Austrian citizenship;" and that "in no Crown-land shall there be any difference between its natives and those of another Crown-land, neither in the administration of civil or criminal justice, nor in the ways and manners of justice, nor in the distribution of the public burdens." This is in the true republican spirit of equality of rights and political privileges; and this was the law which Austria decreed, and Magyar-Hungary repudiated. The policy of Austria is evident enough; we grant her no credit but for submitting frankly and without reserve to what had

become a political necessity. History furnishes many other instances of a triangular contest between a despotic monarch, an arrogant nobility, and an exasperated people, in which the crown made common cause with the people, granted all their demands, and thus gained power enough to crush the refractory barons. Royalty is always more prompt to sacrifice its prerogatives, than an aristocracy is to abandon its privileges; for the former hopes to retrieve at a future day the ground which it has lost; while the latter, if once depressed, can never rise.

But the Magyars found still more serious cause to complain of the liberality of the new Austrian constitution. It provides that the Upper House of the General Imperial Diet shall consist of two members chosen by each of the provincial diets, besides other persons chosen by the Imperial Diet itself, enough to make the whole number one half as large as that of the Lower House; that is, it establishes an equal representation of the several Crown-lands in this Upper House, thus giving to Transylvania, Croatia and Sclavonia, and Fiume with its territories, equal weight with Hungary, and of course emancipating them from Hungarian domination. The constitution of the Lower House in the Imperial Diet is still more fatal to the lofty pretensions of the Magyars to govern all other races and nationalities. "The Lower House proceeds from general and direct elections. The franchise belongs to *every Austrian citizen who is of age*," and who pays a moderate tax, which is not in any case to exceed twenty florins, and may be as small as five florins. This is *equal* suffrage, and it certainly comes as near *universal* suffrage as any reasonable liberal could desire, considering how little experience the subjects of Austria have had in managing representative institutions. Under such a law, the 4,200,000 Magyars lose all control even of Hungary proper, which has a population of 10,500,000; the reins pass at once from their hands into those of the despised Sclavonians and Wallachians, who, taken together, number over six millions. The Magyar nobility, who number about 600,000, beheld themselves reduced from a condition in which they had the entire control of public affairs to a level with the eight millions of peasants. This proud aristocracy is absolutely crushed by the genuine republicanism of the constitution. This was the grievance which produced the Hungarian Declaration of Inde-

pendence, a Declaration put forth by a Diet constituted almost exclusively of the Magyar nobility. Up to the 4th of March, 1849, the reunion of Hungary with Austria was possible, and even probable, though open hostilities had existed between them for nearly six months; but on that date, the new constitution was issued, and the Magyar nobles immediately threw away the scabbard, and declared that they fought for absolute national independence.

That they might not be absolutely without allies in a contest which would evidently be a long and desperate one, and as they could find no friends among the subject races in their own country whom they had so long oppressed, they resolved to make common cause with the ultra republicans of Vienna, and, indeed, of Germany and all Europe. It was this alliance which varnished over their aristocratic purposes and tendencies with a false appearance of democracy, and gained for them the misdirected sympathies of the liberal party in both hemispheres. To one who has studied the history, character, and condition of the Magyar race in Hungary, this alliance certainly appears one of the most preposterous that was ever framed. It can be explained only on the principle so frequently exemplified in the movements of political parties, that extremes meet. The most striking feature in the Magyar character is the chivalrous, haughty, and aristocratic spirit which has been fostered by centuries of undisputed dominion over the nations whom their ancestors conquered nearly a thousand years ago, and by a continued struggle with the house of Austria to preserve the exclusive privileges of their order and their race. An intense feeling of nationality has always directed their conduct. To appease their growing discontent and gain their enthusiastic support, it was necessary rather to flatter this prejudice of race than to serve their real and material interests. Maria Theresa knew them well when she appeared before the assembled Diet in deep mourning, but with a helmet and plume on her head, a light sabre girded to her side, and with her infant in her arms, threw herself upon their generosity for support. The delighted assembly rose like one man, and clashing their sabres together, which these warlike legislators always carry even to the halls of debate, they uttered the memorable exclamation, *Moriamur pro rege nostro, Maria Theresa*. The whole scene would have ap-

peared theatrical and in bad taste to any other legislative body in Europe ; but it was perfectly in character for the Magyars, who have shown the same spirit on more recent occasions.

Even of late years, when ideas of progress and democratic reform had pushed their way even into Hungary, the great question at the Diet did not relate to the mode of embodying these ideas into legislative acts, but to the doubt whether the king, at the close of the session, would wear the Hungarian surcoat or the Austrian royal mantle ; and whether he would make his speech in Magyar or in German. The manner in which the royal propositions were received, (the crown had the initiative in all legislative acts,) depended much more on the solution of these doubts than on the nature of the propositions themselves. "I still remember," says an eye witness, "the closing of the diet of 1840. The discussions had been stormy, and the members were about to separate with angry and resentful feelings. There were some at Vienna who counselled vigorous and severe measures. But there was a surer means of allaying the discontent. The emperor appeared in the Magyar hussar uniform, and the empress and her ladies bore the long white veil which the Magyar dames wear on great festival occasions. The assembly, electrified at the sight, made the hall resound with their cries of joy and triumph ; and at the first word pronounced by the emperor in the Magyar language, the enthusiasm broke through all bounds, and he was not permitted to finish the sentence which he had learned with some difficulty."

This enthusiasm of character, coupled with some picturesque peculiarities of dress and customs, is one great cause of the favor with which the cause of the Magyars has been received in Europe. The established mode of taking the vote in the Diet has always been by *acclamation*, so that unanimity was often supposed when it did not exist. A noble never appears in public without the long and trailing sabre peculiar to his race, which, as already observed, he carries even into the legislative halls ; whence the proverbial saying among them, "he has his arms, and he has his vote ; his vote is therefore free." Assent was signified by clashing these sabres ; and their late Palatine, the archduke Joseph, was noted for his quickness of ear and impartiality in determining whether more sabres were clashed in the affirmative or the negative of

a question. In this instance, as in many others, we see that the Magyar pride of race and strong attachment to ancestral usages have brought down a rude custom of the Middle Ages to modern times, in which it has no real significance, though it gives to their proceedings a factitious air of unanimity and chivalric feeling. The noted scene with Maria Theresa, for instance, as it is usually reported in history, gives a wholly false impression. The custom, indeed, has a historical meaning; it throws a broad light on the ancient constitution of the Diet, which consisted of 80,000 mounted nobles assembled on the plain of Rakos to determine on war or peace, and uttering all together the formidable cry, "To arms!"—after which no scrutiny of the vote was needed.

Again, the ordinary assemblage of the militia in Hungary, to perform the military service required of them by the tenure of their lands, is called the *insurrection*, a word which, as repeated by the historians, gives quite a false aspect to the occurrence. The splendid attire of the Hungarian soldiery, especially of the cavalry, in which arm alone the nobles are bound to serve, shows the rude and barbaric taste for magnificence which has descended to them from their Tartar ancestors, and has been religiously cultivated as a badge of their race. Yet their dress is well designed for military purposes, as the imposing aspect of an army is often an element of its success; the Magyar hussar jacket, embroidered with gold and pearls, has been copied in half the armies of Europe. One reason of the lasting popularity of the late Palatine was, that he always wore the national dress, especially the *attila*, a sort of tunic of cloth or black velvet, the name of which flatters the pride of the Magyars with the memory of their supposed ancient leader, and the *mente*, a long surcoat or pelisse, trimmed with fur. He also spoke with great fluency the Magyar language, a rare accomplishment for a native German, though no officer of rank in Hungary would be tolerated who had not acquired it. The nobles pay great attention to the physical education of their children, accustoming them from a very early age to all manly exercises, especially swimming and horsemanship. The noted reformer, Count Széchény, a magnate of high rank and great wealth, is reported to be the best swimmer in Hungary; a crowd often collected on the quay at Pesth when the rumor was circulated that he was about to swim over the Danube.

Many of the characteristics of the Magyar race interest the imagination and the feelings strongly in their favor; but the sober judgment of one who looks at them under all the light derived from the improved civilization of the nineteenth century cannot but condemn their position as a false one, their institutions as antiquated, and their character and customs as little suited to promote their intellectual and material well-being. The most intelligent among them have long admitted the necessity of great reforms, and during the twenty years which immediately preceded the recent war, many beneficial changes were actually made, and the way was paved for others of greater moment. The credit of these ameliorations is chiefly due to Count Széchény, one of the noblest and best reformers of whom any age or country can boast. Having a princely fortune, an enterprising and generous disposition, and an intellect thoroughly cultivated by books and foreign travel, joining the enthusiasm and the perseverance of a reformer to the practical skill and tact of a statesman, and being both an accomplished writer and an eloquent and practised debater, he has accomplished so much for his country that she owes him a larger debt of gratitude than is due to all her sovereigns and warriors united. His first enterprise, commenced twenty years since, was an attempt to improve the navigation of the Danube, a work of immense importance, as we have shown, to the prosperity of the country. The obstructions in the river were so great, that only large rafts and some rude *bateaux* were sent down stream, to be broken up when they had once arrived at the Black Sea. Széchény built at his own expense a light and stout boat in which he descended the river himself, and ascertained that the rocks and rapids were not so formidable as had been supposed. He then organized a company for removing the greatest obstacles from the bed of the stream, and placing a line of steamboats upon it. The undertaking had complete success, and within one year the boats were plying regularly from Ratisbon to Vienna, and from Vienna to Constantinople. The enterprise excited great enthusiasm in Hungary; the Austrian government favored it, and contributed largely for its execution. Metternich himself was pleased, and became one of the first stockholders, though he laughed at the boasting of the Magyars respecting it, "who thought they had invented the Danube."

This work made Széchény very popular; but as yet his countrymen regarded him only as an able engineer. He soon showed himself, however, a politician and publicist of the highest rank, by a number of pamphlets published in quick succession, advocating with great eloquence and ability some important changes in the constitution of the state and the relations between the peasants and the nobility. These pamphlets were the first productions of importance written, not in Latin or German, but in the Magyar tongue. Széchény knew his countrymen well, and was aware how much favor might be conciliated for his schemes by this innovation in language. His arguments were directed chiefly against the tithes, road-tax, duty-services, and other feudal burdens on the land, and against the exemption of the nobility from taxation. He proposed to redeem the tithes and the road-tax by means of a national loan, after the example that had been successfully set in several of the German states. Following up warmly in the Diet the schemes which he had broached in his pamphlets, he soon had the satisfaction of finding himself at the head of a numerous and active party, both in the legislature and the country at large, who eagerly seconded his designs. The discussion was carried on with great spirit on both sides, and the interest which it excited threw all other subjects into the shade. "The old feudal edifice erected by St. Stephen, fortified by Andreas II., besieged and breached for three centuries by Austria, was to open its gates to a more powerful assailant, the spirit of the age." The Diet of 1836 adopted several of Széchény's proposed reforms; other steps in the same direction were taken by that of 1840; and the discussion of others was interrupted only by the thunder of the revolutions of Paris and Vienna. Among the many disastrous consequences of those great convulsions, perhaps the most lamentable of all was the interruption, the ruin, of Széchény's work of peaceful reform in Hungary.

The brilliant reputation which Széchény acquired was earned as much by his temperance, and his regard for justice and the rights of all, as by the boldness of the changes that he proposed. "I wish," he remarked, "to awaken my countrymen so that they may walk, and not that they may throw themselves out of the window." His popularity became immense. His name was in every mouth, and the

counties vied with each other in sending him addresses of congratulation and rights of citizenship. When he arrived in any village, the peasants went out to meet him with music, and called him their father and liberator. The Diet of Transylvania sent him an entire gold pen several feet in length, and the national academy, the circle of the nobility, and the institute of the Hungarian language, at the same time, elected him their president. His name was given to the first steamboat which glided down the lower Danube; and in every drawing room at Pesth, the stranger might see an engraving in which Széchény appeared in a sort of apotheosis surrounded by luminous clouds, while beneath Hungary was represented as coming out of chaos, and the Danube, covered by vessels of all nations, flowed on majestically, not fretted by rocks or rapids, towards the sea. It is afflicting to be obliged to add, that when, in 1848, Count Széchény saw his great work interrupted, his popularity overcast, his place usurped by demagogues and radicals of the lowest stamp, and his country wrapped in the flames of a civil war, the shock was too great for his reason, and he made an attempt on his life. He threw himself into the Danube, whence he was rescued with difficulty, to be still preserved, let us hope, till he can again reap his reward from the returning reason of his countrymen.

It is much to the credit of the Austrian government, that although Széchény was the leader of the constitutional opposition in the Diet, it adopted nearly all his projects of reform, and submitted them, under the form of royal propositions, to be discussed by both houses. Strange to say, also, these propositions were received with most favor in the upper house; many of the magnates, especially the younger ones, warmly welcomed the new ideas of progress and social reform. "I do not know any class of men," says Langsdorff, "who, by their character, their liberality, and their devotion to the common good, merit more fully the high prerogatives they enjoy than these Hungarian magnates. A noble and chivalrous race, they are still worthy of the eulogy which Montesquieu pronounced upon them; their valor amounts to heroism in fight, their generosity to self-sacrifice so far as wealth is concerned." In their voluntary contributions to benevolent and national objects, they put to shame the munificence of the

rich in England. Thus, to the national academy established in 1827, for the propagation and improvement of the Magyar language, Count Széchény gave \$30,000, Prince Bathiany nearly as much, Count Karoly \$25,000, and the two Esterhazys about \$16,000. This object, it is true, is regarded as one of vast interest and importance in Hungary, where attachment to the Magyar language is considered the true measure of one's patriotism. Thus, a military school was founded about twenty years ago, for the benefit of the children of the poor nobility. The government approved the project, and from the liberal contributions of the magnates, a splendid edifice was erected. Up to the last moment it had been taken for granted, that in all the exercises of the institution the Magyar language alone would be used. But just as the school was about to be opened, the government decided, very reasonably, that this would destroy all unity of action in the imperial army, in which the words of command must necessarily be given in German. An order was consequently issued, that the Magyar language should not be used in the school; and the effect was that not a single pupil presented himself for admission. To this day, the building, a large and handsome structure, has remained unoccupied.

The opposition to Széchény's plans proceeded chiefly from the inferior or untitled nobility, who feared that the overthrow of the ancient feudal constitution would also be the downfall of the inordinate privileges and political influence of their order. They were the only class who were benefited by the retention of antiquated customs; the magnates, with their vast landed estates, and having the entire control of the upper house in the Diet, would still be predominant in the state, even if their feudal privileges should be swept away. But the lesser nobles, many of whom are quite poor, would have no more power than the burghers of the free cities, or the wealthier class of the emancipated peasants, if the historical ground should be taken away from them, and the abuses and inequalities of the feudal system abolished. The ancient constitution of Hungary was made, as we have seen, solely for the benefit of this class; in their favor, for the protection of their order, the Golden Bull of Andreas II. had been issued. Hitherto every one of their number had called himself a member of the crown of Hungary; he was a part of

the sovereignty. Their idea of the constitution corresponded perfectly to Rousseau's definition of the government of Poland, "where the nobles are every thing, the burghers nothing, and the peasants less than nothing." Their only scheme of political conduct was to allow of no innovation in the ancient customs of the Magyars, and to manifest constant jealousy of the house of Austria, whose interests coincided with those of the oppressed peasants and of the subject races of the population, inasmuch as these ancient customs obstructed the political influence of all three. It suited the untitled nobles to declare, that they were contending for the ancient liberties of Hungary, when in fact they were opposing the emancipation of the peasants, and endeavoring to prevent the subject Sclavonians and Wallachians from breaking their chains.

It was natural, therefore, that while Széchény and the old liberal party, the constitutional opposition in the Diet, were gradually attracted towards the ministerialists because the ministry favored their plans of social amelioration, a new and more radical party should be formed behind them, whose politics consisted merely in inflexible resistance to the crown and in opposition to Austrian influence on all occasions. Count Bathiany was the first leader of this new party; but their course soon became too violent and excessive to be favored by any magnate, and his influence was superseded by that of Paul Nagy and Kossuth, two radical deputies who had become distinguished by their powers in debate. The latter of these is not even a Magyar by birth, but a Magyarized Slowack lawyer, who attended the Diet of 1836 in the very humble capacity of secretary of one of its members. He soon distinguished himself by *publishing* a *manuscript* journal of the proceedings, (a printed one being prohibited by the censorship,) which journal was actually copied by hand, and circulated in considerable numbers through the country. Some of his other publications transgressed the bounds of law more openly, so that he was apprehended and imprisoned for a time. When released, his popularity having grown through the persecution he had suffered, he was chosen a deputy, and became of course a more flaming patriot than ever. His extraordinary eloquence led captive the minds of his hearers, so that, after the revolution, he acquired the entire

control of the Diet, and was finally appointed Supreme Dictator of Hungary during the war. In fact, Kossuth's party, ever since it was organized, has been endeavoring to effect a complete separation of Hungary from Austria, the preservation of feudal privileges and the domination of the Magyar race being of more importance in their eyes than the promotion of the commercial and other material interests of the country and the intellectual cultivation of its people. Szécheny and his friends, on the other hand, aware that Hungary would be thrown into an isolated and semibarbarous position if cut off from its present political connection with central and western Europe, have aimed to secure the assistance of Austria in developing the resources of the kingdom, adapting its institutions to the spirit of the age, and diffusing intelligence and refinement among its inhabitants. This party, and the magnates generally, seem to have remained passive during the late revolutionary war ; one of the Esterhazys is the only titled noble who appears to have acted with the insurgents.

The question of language has had more influence than any other on the politics of Hungary for the last thirty years. In a country where there was so great confusion of tongues, it was absolutely necessary that some one language should be chosen for a universal medium in matters of government and legislation. The Latin has long been adopted for this purpose, its use having come down from the Middle Ages, when it was the general medium of learning throughout Europe, and its preservation in Hungary so long after it was abandoned elsewhere being due to the rivalry of different nationalities, two or three of which have been offended by the selection of any living language. The Latin was neutral ground, on which the German, the Magyar, the Sclavonian, and the Wallachian could meet without cause of offence. Joseph II. of Austria, a philosophical schemer who projected many excellent reforms, but spoiled them all by an excessive love of system and uniformity, and by a want of tact and discretion in carrying them out, nearly caused a rebellion in Hungary by undertaking to make the German language universal there ; he required it to be used in all public acts, in all schools and seminaries of education, in civil offices, and in military command. The haughty Magyars had been already offended by the contempt he had manifested for their peculiar institutions ;

he had altered the organization of the *comitats*, or counties, those little federal republics first established by St. Stephen; he had refused to be crowned king of Hungary, and had even carried away the golden crown from Buda to Vienna; he had attempted to impose taxes on the nobles. These things they had borne, though sulkily; but when he attempted to supplant their noble language by the hated German, the spirit of the nation was effectually roused, and their resistance became so menacing that he was obliged to revoke all his reforms, and reëstablish Magyarism throughout Hungary. As he was not crowned at Buda, his acts were considered null, and they do not now appear on the statute book of the kingdom.

The Magyars had thus vindicated the respect due to their own vernacular tongue, but they were not willing to respect the language and the national feeling of others. By constantly pressing the Austrian government on this point ever since 1800, they had at last succeeded in causing the Latin to be supplanted by the Magyar language in the deliberations of the Diet and in the acts of the government; this change was not consummated till 1844. The few Sclavonians in the legislature were still allowed, as of necessity, to address the assembly in Latin, and the government officials sometimes spoke German, though they risked their popularity by so doing. Having carried this point against the imperialists, the Magyars attempted to impose their language upon the subject races, and to oblige them to use it upon all occasions. The schoolmasters and the clergy, in every province and every village, though it might be inhabited exclusively by Sclavonians and Wallachians, were ordered to teach and to preach only in the Magyar tongue. This law created great irritation everywhere, but especially in Croatia. This province is in the same situation with regard to Hungary, that Hungary holds in respect to Austria. Together with its sister province of Sclavonia, it has a diet of its own, which meets at Agram, and is allowed to send three representatives to the general Hungarian Diet at Presburg or Pesth. The chief of these two provinces, who is styled the Ban of Croatia, holds the same relative position that the Palatine does in Hungary; he is responsible directly to the emperor, is chosen by the Croatian Diet, and claims to act independently of the Palatine. The Croats were very willing to abandon the Latin

for the sake of their own language, but not for the purpose of speaking the Magyar. They echoed back with one voice the declaration of their Diet, *nolumus Magyarisari*. The national feeling was effectually roused on this subject, and the Hungarian law was reprobated as both insulting and injurious. The Slowacks of the north of Hungary united with them in resistance to the law; and the Slavonians generally were attracted towards the emperor, and sought, by increasing the influence of Austria, to erect for themselves a barrier against the haughty dominion of the Magyars. Ever since 1830, the deputies of Croatia in the Hungarian Diet have acted with the Austrian ministry, and supported the propositions of the Crown.

Croatia has been aptly called the Ireland of Hungary, and M. Louis Gaj aspires to play the part of its O'Connell. He began his career of agitation in 1835, striving to awaken the national feelings of the Illyrians, and to stir up hostility to the Magyars, the "Saxons" who for centuries have oppressed these honest "Celts." Hoping ultimately to make Croatia wholly independent of Hungary, he began with the simple project of defending the language and the local liberties of his country against the encroachments and the centralizing spirit of the Magyars. His movements were at first tolerated, and even countenanced, by Austria, who hoped to find in the awakened energy and resolution of the Slavonians the means of holding the Hungarians in check, and a pretence for refusing some of their increasing demands. But the agitation throughout the Illyrian provinces, fanned by the skilful proceedings of M. Gaj, had reached so great a height in 1845, that the Austrian government deemed it necessary to adopt some measures to stay its force. On occasion of a trifling tumult at the elections held in Agram, the Ban Haller ordered the troops to fire on the people, and a number of them were killed; among whom were some young men of respectable families, devoted friends of the new movement. The whole city immediately broke out in insurrection, and Haller, in order to save his authority and his life, was obliged temporarily to give up his office to M. Gaj, who alone had power to stay the tempest.

The patriot leader was too politic to take this occasion for breaking all terms with the Austrian government and engaging

in a desperate war for independence ; though his countrymen were unanimous, and their zeal was roused to the highest pitch, he knew they would be overmatched by the power of the empire and by the warlike spirit of the Magyars. He affected, therefore, to represent the affair to Metternich as the result of a plot long meditated against the Illyrians, formed by the Ban Haller in concert with the Hungarians. Delighted to have the matter put in this light, the Austrian minister at once consented to recall Haller, to allow the patriot bishop of Agram to be elected temporary viceroy or Ban, and to relax the censorship so far as to allow the circulation of certain books, till then prohibited, among which was a very bold history of all the Illyrian races, written in the national language by M. Gaj himself. With these concessions, and some others relating to the constitution of the Croatian Diet, the Illyrian agitator returned to Agram to denounce the Magyars more violently than ever. He wished to obtain a military leader for that movement of which he was himself the head, and he found one in Baron Jellachich, a young colonel of the troops on the military frontier, of simple manners and resolute character, devoted to the welfare of Croatia and the advancement of the Sclavonian race, and who has since shown considerable ability as an orator and a diplomatist, no less than as a soldier. The feelings of the Croatians, directed entirely by M. Gaj, were soon manifested so strongly in favor of Jellachich, that the Austrian ministry was forced to approve his election as Ban, which gave him the full control of the troops in the province, and great influence over the Austrian Sclavonians everywhere.

The beginning of this agitation in the Illyrian provinces may be traced back to the scheme developed and advocated several years ago by M. Kollar, a Slowack poet, who proposed to unite all the Sclavonians in Europe under one head, and thus establish a new and powerful empire, which might sway the destinies of the world. *Panslavism* was the name given to this project, which has been received with so much favor in Russia and other Slavonic countries, as to create serious jealousy and uneasiness in Germany. The Slavonic family constitutes from one third to one half of the whole population of Europe ; the Russians, Polès, Lithuanians, two thirds of the Bohemians, one half of the Hungarians, the

Dalmatians, Croatians, Bosnians, Servians, and Bulgarians are of this stock. The eastern half of Europe is peopled by them, and were they united, they could subjugate the whole continent. No other European race is one half as numerous; no one excels them in bravery, patience, and fortitude, though they are deficient in enterprise and the power of combination. Numerous instances go to show that their intellect is susceptible of a high degree of cultivation; though they have been for so many centuries in a servile and depressed condition that their name, *Slave*, has become the general denomination of those in servitude. The scheme of uniting them into one empire is, of course, propounded in the interest of Russia, which country would be the head of this grand confederacy. M. Kollar is Russian in his politics, though not, we believe, a Russian by birth; and this fact has probably caused his project to be received with less favor than it seemed to deserve in Poland, Austria, and European Turkey, though he has developed it with singular learning, ingenuity, and eloquence. The recent war in Hungary has done more than any event in the history of Europe during the present century to make the realization of his scheme appear possible, and even probable. For the first time, the Russians have come into action as the allies of the Slavonic races south of the Danube, to assist them in crushing the insolent dominion of a race of intruders who have ruled them with a rod of iron while vindicating their own freedom and independence against the pretensions of the house of Austria.

The quarrel between the Magyars and the Croatians has brought out in strong relief the characteristics of the two races. Brave, high-spirited, and imperious, the former treated the complaints of their ancient subjects, as they consider them, with scorn, and heaped new provocations on them just at the moment when they were bringing upon themselves a desperate conflict with Austria. More patient and politic, the Croatians took measures to secure the aid both of the emperor and of the Russians before they threw defiance in the teeth of the Magyars. Kollar, Gaj, and Jellachich had skilfully excited their national feelings, and they acted together with great firmness and unanimity. They exposed very fully the inconsistency of the Magyars, who thought it natural and right to enfranchise themselves from all foreign dominion, and to

reconquer their individuality as a nation and a race ; but who were astonished and indignant, that the Illyrians and the Wallachians living within the borders of Hungary should experience the same desire and cherish the same hopes. The Croatians held high and menacing language to compel the emperor to espouse their quarrel. In a memorial addressed to him before hostilities had broken out they exclaimed, "Emperor, if you reject our prayers, we shall know how to vindicate our liberty without you ; and we prefer to die heroically, like a Slavonian people, rather than to bear any longer such a yoke as is imposed upon us by an Asiatic horde, from whom we have nothing good to receive or to learn. Emperor, know that we prefer, if we must choose between them, the knout of the Russians to the insolence of the Magyars. We will not, on any terms, belong to the Magyars. Remember that, if Croatia forms but a thirty-fifth part of your empire, the Croatians constitute a third of your whole infantry."

As a farther illustration of the spirit of the people at this time, we give a translation of a Slavonian song, written by one of their patriots, which obtained great popularity throughout the Illyrian provinces.

"Whoever is a Slavonian and a hero, let him wave his banner in the air ; let him gird on his sabre, and mount his fiery steed. Forward, brothers ! God is with us, and the devils are our enemies.

"See how the black and savage Tartar is treading our nation and our language under foot. Let us resist before he prostrates us. Forward, brothers ! God is with us, and the devils are our enemies.

"Let the brave Slavonian of the North and the Illyrian of the South join hands at this festival. Behold already the gleam of their lances, hear the sound of the trumpets and the thunder of the cannon. Forward, brothers ! God is with us, and the devils are our enemies.

"The time is come to wash ourselves in the blood of our enemies. Let each one, then, strike down a head. Forward, brothers ! God is with us, and the devils are our enemies."

The Slavonians were not the only enemies within the bosom of their country whom the Magyars provoked. The Germans, who had founded cities in the interior, establishing

themselves as commercial and manufacturing colonists in the midst of this rude and warlike agricultural population, were made to feel their isolated position, and the arrogance of the aristocratic masters of the soil around them. The lines of separation between the heterogeneous races were preserved with Jewish scrupulousness ; each has retained its language, features, dress, and occupation unchanged for centuries. The situation of the Germans is most peculiar in the extreme eastern and southeastern provinces, in Transylvania and the Banat. Here they are surrounded by the rude and fierce Szeklers, a race who are born soldiers, allied in blood and language to the Magyars, whom they preceded a century or two in the occupation of the country. Their banner is indicative of their character ; it bears a heart pierced through and through with a sword. Amid this half-barbarous people, in a rugged and mountainous country at the extreme limit of European civilization towards the east, a colony from the heart of Germany was established in the course of the twelfth century ; and in spite of the disadvantages of their situation, they have increased in numbers and wealth. Their blood is still as pure as when they first left the fatherland ; their fresh and smiling German faces, their fair hair and light complexion, indicate their origin as clearly, as do their prudent and economical habits, and their dogged industry. These grave and honest burghers are republicans by descent and in predilection ; they reject all aristocracy, and choose their magistrates by universal suffrage. In many respects, they remind one of the flourishing commercial towns of the Middle Ages ; like them, they are guarded with high walls and strong fortifications against the semi-barbarous people without, who are all warriors, and who are organized like a camp on the frontiers. If need be, these flourishing citizens will fight stoutly in defence of the walls which guard their shops and their homes.

The Magyars, the Szeklers, and the Germans formed a treaty at Torda in the fifteenth century, to divide Transylvania between them, — the two former to do all the fighting, and the latter to keep the cities and strongholds. They are the three sovereign nations, as they call themselves, though they number all together less than a million ; while the subject nations, most of whom are Wallachians, amount to a million and a half. These had no part in the union of Torda,

which united the other three races, and therefore are allowed no political or civil rights. They cannot elect their magistrates, nor fill public offices; they are serfs, and cultivate the fields of their masters. The Magyars, though so few in number, helped themselves to three fourths of the soil of Transylvania; the north and the west, including Carlsbourg, the capital, are theirs. The Germans, or Saxons as they are here called, hold the flourishing cities of Cronstadt and Hermanstadt, with the rich territory in the south, and the district of Bistritz in the north. Their towns were originally fortified not more against the Turks than against the Magyars; and they have just had renewed occasion to use them against these foes, whose desperate valor, however, was not repelled by them. Naturally attached to Germany and to republican institutions, they saw with dismay, after the grand democratic outbreak of 1848, that the Magyars were separating all Hungary from Austria, with a view of preserving their own aristocratic institutions, and lording it more imperiously than ever over the other races that inhabited the land. They immediately sent a delegate to the federative Congress at Frankfort to ask for aid and protection; but the theorists in this distracted assembly had neither troops nor money to send them, and they were left to their fate,—to the arrogance of the Magyars whom they had offended by this step, and to the ruthless hostility of the Szeklers. The following is an extract from the address sent by the municipality of Hermanstadt, on the 9th of June, 1848, through their delegate to the Frankfort Assembly.

“German brothers, seven centuries ago, a branch of the national tree, the gigantic oak of Germany, was planted in the oriental valleys of the Carpathian mountains; its extended roots have penetrated to the soil of the fatherland, and continually drawn nourishment from it. The air and the light of Germany have continued to warm and to cheer us. In the midst of the aristocratic and feudal institutions of the other races which threaten to stifle our civilization, we have remained German citizens. Yes, brothers; in spite of the local separation, we have preserved with old German fidelity the manners and the language of our common ancestors. At the moment when the European edifice is everywhere crumbling into ruin, the legislator, like Archimedes, needs a fixed point on which to rest and sustain the world. This point has been found. Let the German fatherland extend to

every region where the German language is spoken. With our whole hearts we will join you in causing our national airs to resound from the banks of the Vistula to those of the Rhine. The children have not forgotten their mother, the mother has not forgotten her children. Generous voices have spoken in the imperial city, in this very assembly, in favor of maintaining the rights of Transylvanian Germany; we wish, indeed, that our great and powerful fatherland had used a bolder tone, and not restricted itself to entreating the little nation of the Magyars, but had ordered it to respect the German nationality."

In this general turmoil, the Wallachians, also, were moved to demand a restoration of those rights, the common rights of humanity, of which they had been deprived for centuries. Some of the younger members of the Greek clergy inspired them with a generous ambition, and taught them to shake impatiently the yoke of subjection and helotism which had so long weighed upon their necks. The example of their brethren across the frontier, also, in the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, who had recently driven off some of their petty local tyrants, had given them new ideas of freedom and new hopes of ameliorating their situation by their own efforts. In the last Diet which was held in Transylvania before the revolution of 1848, the Wallachians had uttered their complaints, and asked at least a hearing for their cause. It was sternly and stubbornly refused; the three sovereign nations agreed with each other on this point, if on no other, that the subject race, which outnumbered them all three together, should not be admitted to an equality of rights with themselves. The Saxon burghers in this respect showed no more liberality than the Magyar magnates or the Szekler nobles; they would not violate the ancient constitution of the duchy. The Austrian ministry hoped nothing from the efforts of the Wallachians, and therefore did not befriend them. The suppliants were rejected on all sides. Then the revolution broke out, and they offered to serve in the ranks of the Magyars if these would proclaim their emancipation. The offer was contemptuously refused; and in their despair, the Wallachians joined that party, the weakest one, whose professions seemed most liberal, though their conduct belied their words. They made common cause with the republican Germans, and contributed not a little to distract the attention and divide the forces of the Magyar insurgents.

The war in Hungary, then, was by no means so simple an affair as most persons have imagined. It was not a combined effort of the whole people of a subjugated province striving to regain their national independence. Hungary never was conquered by Austria ; but she sought and continued the alliance as a means of protection against the Turks, and of commercial and political union with central and western Europe. It was not a republican movement, or the rising of the lower classes in the state against the higher, with a view of securing a more equal distribution of political rights and social advantages. Republicanism was never pretended by the Magyars, and is not even mentioned in their Declaration of Independence. It was an attempt on the part of the Magyar untitled nobility, 600,000 in number, to preserve the ancient feudal constitution of the state, which guaranteed their aristocratic privileges and the dominion of their race, against the liberal constitution granted by the emperor of Austria, which destroyed all distinctions of rank and race, and established the modern ideas of equal representation, equal suffrage, the freedom of the press, and the liberty of individuals, on the ruins of feudalism.

In the general *mêlée* that ensued, each party and race fought on its own hook ; each formed alliances and sought, support with a view only to the exigences of the moment, and without the slightest reference to the political and social doctrines of those whose aid they invoked, and whose cause they really subverted. The Magyars, aristocrats in a double sense, both as an order and a race, and now in arms to preserve their obsolete feudal institutions, made common cause with the Red Republicans of Vienna, who, like their brethren throughout Europe, aimed simply at the inversion of the old order of things, and the utter destruction of all existing forms of society and government. The Croats and other Slavonians, democratic in their instincts and purposes, and proscribed as rebels by both parties at the beginning of the contest, fought gallantly to assist the emperor of Austria in crushing the insurgent nobility of Hungary. The republican German burghers of Transylvania united themselves first with the Wallachian serfs, whose petition for emancipation they had just rejected, and then invited the Russians into the country to protect them from the merciless hostility of the Magyars and the Szeklers, who had been their unwavering

allies for four centuries. Austria, the old champion of despotism in southern Europe, having just crushed the last hopes of the Italian liberals in Lombardy and Piedmont, engages in a crusade for the purpose of forcing a liberal constitution upon feudal and aristocratic Hungary, and of destroying that chivalrous nobility, whose enthusiastic bravery had more than once, within a century, saved the empire when menaced by the arms of coalized Europe. Russia, aggressive and selfish as her policy usually has been, has acted with strange magnanimity and forbearance ; she entered Hungary only at the call, or under the pretence, of humanity, to protect the helpless Germans and Wallachians ; her army crushed the insurrection by one decisive blow, and then, although the country was entirely in her power, and the Sclavonians, who form nearly half of its population, would gladly have become her subjects, she has quietly withdrawn her troops without making any demand for the expenses of the war, or any stipulation for her own territorial aggrandizement.

This statement of the case will take most persons in this country by surprise ; for deceived by the prose dithyrambics of Kossuth, by the romantic history, chivalrous daring, and theatrical garb and manner of the Magyars, and by the prodigious lies of the ultra republican press in Germany, which spread a fresh report of the utter annihilation of the Austrian and Russian armies once a fortnight, we had generally come to believe, that the republican cause in Europe depended on the success of the insurrection in Hungary, and that this cause was almost sure to succeed from the unparalleled bravery and activity of the Magyars. The newspapers here attacked the American President with severity, because he did not immediately recognize the independence of Hungary, and send out a special minister to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with the gallant insurgents. It is true, that we can never have any intercourse or connection with this isolated country in the east of Europe, which has not a single seaport, any more than with the Cham of Tartary ; but this fact is of no importance in the eyes of those who believe that the spirit of propagandism is the essence of republican institutions. The Magyars, indeed, fought with great gallantry ; it was hardly possible to avoid sympathizing with a people who struggled so bravely against immense odds. But

their cause was bad ; they sought to defend their antiquated feudal institutions, and their unjust and excessive privileges as an order and a race, against the incursion of the liberal ideas and the reformatory spirit of the nineteenth century.

We can notice only very briefly a few incidents in the history of the struggle which illustrate those peculiarities in the internal condition of Hungary that we have endeavored to point out. When the revolution of March at Vienna, and the flight of Metternich, had seemingly dissolved the Austrian empire, and left each of its component parts to crystallize into new forms under its own internal affinities, as many distinct revolutionary movements were made as there were different races which had hitherto acknowledged the authority of the emperor. The people of Venice and Lombardy threw off all connection with Germany, and sought a union with the Italian patriots throughout the peninsula. The radical party in the Hungarian Diet at once obtained the ascendancy, and decreed that Hungary in future should have an independent administration and a separate ministry, including even a department for foreign affairs ; that is, it decided to retain all the advantages, but to acknowledge none of the reciprocal obligations, of its connection with Austria. Hard as these conditions were, they were accepted without remonstrance by the terrified and powerless imperial government. The two races who form the population of Bohemia broke out into open hostilities against each other ; the Czechs or Sclavonians, numbering nearly three millions, sought to avenge themselves for the long subjection in which they had been held by the Germans, who are hardly half as numerous. They demanded, among other things, that the two races should be admitted to an equality of political rights, and that all public officers should be required to speak both languages. The Emperor instantly granted all they asked, and the Germans of Bohemia consequently found, that the whole power had passed into the hands of their rivals, who, intoxicated by their sudden transition as a race from servitude to supremacy, were prepared to make the best use of their advantages. The Czechs of Moravia and Silesia joined the movement, and a call was issued for a grand Pansclavonic congress, to meet at Prague on the 31st of May, to take measures for establishing Sclavonic independence on a firm basis.

Meanwhile, the Croats and other Slavonians of the south were not idle. The Ban Jellachich invited all the Austro-Slavonic countries to send delegates to a Diet to be held at Agram, on the 5th of June; he also opened communications with Count Leo Thun, the leader of the Czech party in Bohemia, and proposed to act in concert with him in all measures intended to promote the emancipation and welfare of the race to which they both belonged. But the headlong zeal of the Bohemian Slavonians wellnigh made shipwreck of the whole affair; too eager to use and extend their newly acquired liberty, they menaced and oppressed their German countrymen, and decided to throw off all connection with Austria even before the day appointed for the assemblage of their Congress. They established an independent provisional government on the 29th of May, so that the terrified Bohemian Germans saw themselves deprived of their last hope, the protection of the emperor. But the ministry at Vienna denounced this provisional government, and Prince Windischgrätz, then the Austrian governor of Prague, encouraged by the German citizens who rallied around him, took a firm stand in opposition to the revolutionists, and expostulated with them on their mad proceedings. The Slavonians were roused to fury, and a mob of them having beset his palace, a conflict ensued, and the Princess Windischgrätz was killed by a musket shot. The bereaved husband still remonstrated with them in mild language, but instead of listening to him, they pressed forward yet more eagerly, and attempted to seize him as a hostage. The troops then interfered, and after a short but sharp conflict, the rioters were driven back, and Windischgrätz left the city with his forces, and took post on the neighboring heights. There he was soon joined by Count Mensdorff with troops from Vienna, and as the insurgents continued obstinate, he commenced bombarding the city on the 15th of June. In two days, the greater part of Prague was laid in ashes, and the Czechs were compelled to surrender. Then, of course, the Slavonian congress and the provisional government were dissolved; and both races in Bohemia, exhausted by the conflict and pained by the desolation it had caused, resumed their allegiance to the emperor, and waited for the gradual development of political reform.

During the short ascendancy of the Czechs, they had induced or compelled the government at Vienna to admit one of their leaders, Palazky, into the imperial ministry. The pride of the Magyars took fire at this concession to the Slavonian race, and Count Bathiany, their envoy at Vienna, remonstrated in strong terms against the measure, as it tended to encourage the Slowacks, who were already in rebellion in the north of Hungary. On the other hand, Jellachich and the Croatsians supported Palazky. The emperor, who, in the middle of May, had secretly left his capital and taken refuge at Innspruck, temporized at first; but as the conduct of the Czechs at Prague grew more outrageous, he became more hostile to the Slavonian cause, and summoned the Ban to meet him in the Tyrol, and to give an account of his conduct. Jellachich not only refused, but attended the Slavonian Diet which he had called at Agram, where he was formally elected Ban by that assembly, having hitherto held his office by imperial appointment. The Emperor then denounced him as a rebel, and ordered him to be deprived of all his offices and titles; the Austrian Marshal Hrabowsky, with a considerable body of troops, was sent to enforce these commands by the invasion of Croatia and Slavonia. The cities of Carlowitz and Neustadt were immediately invested by the Marshal, and compelled to surrender, the former after a severe bombardment.

The cause of the Slavonians now seemed hopeless, and but for the politic conduct of Jellachich and his advisers, their race would probably have been reduced to their former political insignificance and subjection. Threatened by the Magyars, and actually invaded by the Austrians, the insurrection of the Czechs being entirely suppressed, and that of the Slowacks being too feeble and isolated to afford any material aid to the Croatsians, the cause was lost if the latter could not effect a compromise with one of the parties now in arms against them. The haughty and warlike Magyars would make no terms with those whom they regarded as their revolted subjects, whom they had ruled with absolute dominion for eight centuries. A conference between Jellachich and Bathiany at Vienna, in July, 1848, only showed that the hostility of the two races was implacable. When they separated, the latter exclaimed, "We shall meet again

on the Drave," the northern boundary of Croatia; "No," answered Jellachich, "but on the Danube." The Ban then proceeded to Innsbruck, where he satisfied his royal master, that his countrymen would gladly continue their allegiance to the house of Austria, if they should be allowed to retain their language, and to enjoy those rights which the emperor had promised to all his subjects. To contend against them, he said, was only to assist the Magyars; for if subdued, they must become subjects of Hungary, which country now retained only a nominal connection with the empire. The Magyars were the common enemies of the imperialists and the Croats; they asserted their independence of the former, while striving to rivet their chains upon the latter. To adopt the cause of the Croats would be to conciliate all the Sclavonians, who formed more than half of the population of the empire; while the Magyars numbered but little over four millions, and were hated alike by Wallachians, Germans, and Sclavonians, at the same time that they were disloyal to the emperor.

These reasons appearing conclusive, the emperor did not hesitate at once to change sides, to unite the imperial forces with those whom he had just before denounced as rebels, and to commission the Ban Jellachich himself, the chief rebel, to put down the insurrection in Hungary. This arrangement, however, was kept secret for a time, to await the results of negotiation with the Magyars. But this haughty and imperious race waited for no compromise, and their spirits only rose as the number of their enemies increased. Their Diet voted an extraordinary contribution of a hundred millions of florins, a levy of two hundred thousand men, and an issue of two hundred millions of paper money. It was also proposed to recall the Hungarian regiments that were serving under Radetsky in Lombardy; but Kossuth cried out, "Beware what you do! They are Croats and Sclavonians whom you wish to recall." The old liberal party of the constitutional opposition in the Diet, led by such men as Széchény and Deak, and even Bathiany, who was far more radical in his politics, protested against these headlong proceedings, and recommended delay and negotiation; but the danger was imminent, the excitement was intense, and as usual in such cases, the fanatics

and ultraists, headed by Kossuth and Szémeré, carried every thing their own way. It was when defeated in debate on this occasion, that the noble Széchény, seeing that his influence was lost, and the fate of his country was sealed by the madness of its demagogues, made an attempt upon his own life. The magnates generally abandoned the cause at this crisis; they would not fight against their countrymen, but neither could they lead them onwards to certain destruction. They retired to their estates, or left the country. Kossuth and the untitled nobles, assisted by the peasants of their race, alone provoked the contest; and never did a large body of men fight more gallantly in support of an unwise, unjust, and desperate undertaking.

Their situation, indeed, was perilous in the extreme. Early in September, 1848, Jellachich took the command of all the imperial troops in Croatia and Slavonia, the Austrian Marshal Hrabowsky quietly resigning his post to him, and prepared to cross the Drave and march upon Pesth. The venerable Greek patriarch Raiachich, putting aside his sacred functions for a time, led an irregular force of brave but untrained Slavonian volunteers, collected from the borders of the Banat, to lay waste the country of the Magyars in the south-east. The Slovacks were in arms in the north; and the Wallachians of Transylvania threatened an insurrection in the east. The Diet of this province, in which the Magyars and Szeklers formed a large majority, had just voted, it is true, to make common cause with Hungary; but the Saxons, far from joining in this vote, were outraged by it; and the irritated Wallachians, forming more than half of the whole population, made the opposition in this quarter still more formidable. A regiment of them, hastily conducted by their Magyar officers as far as Szegedin, suddenly halted, wheeled about, and marched back again to their mountains. To this circle of foes the Magyars as yet could oppose only a few regiments of cavalry, for the Hungarian infantry was chiefly made up of Slavonians, and time was required to bring together and discipline the great levy which the Diet had decreed, and which soon became "the insurrection." To gain time for raising these forces, and to avenge the defection of the emperor from their cause, the Magyars resolved to wage war against him in his own capital.

The radicals at Vienna formed hardly a tenth part of the constituent assembly ; but they had on their side the dregs of the populace, and the "academical legion," composed not only of the youth of the university, but of Polish, Italian, and German refugees, the reckless Free Companions of the revolutionary cause throughout Europe. Some who had manned the barricades of June at Paris came to fight against the emperor at Vienna in September. The grave citizens, the *bourgeoisie*, who dreaded a recurrence of the confusion and anarchy of the preceding spring, and therefore had welcomed their sovereign when he returned from Innspruck, regarded the signs of another insurrection with dismay, but had not spirit and bravery enough to protect themselves against a desperate faction. The Magyars determined to agitate these elements of sedition and civil war, and thus to give the imperialist troops employment at home for a while, till the means of resistance could be organized in Hungary ; and the offer of their aid from without was eagerly accepted by the revolutionists within the city. A deputation from the Hungarian Diet came to Vienna on the 10th of September, to make known their demands to the Emperor, which were that he should approve their recent votes for raising men and money, should again denounce Jellachich and the Slavonians as rebels, and should come to take up his residence at Pesth among his *faithful* Magyars, so as to give a visible and undoubted sanction to their proceedings. These modest demands being refused, the deputation, one hundred and sixty in number, sullenly withdrew ; and when they had reached the steamer, they tore down the Austro-Hungarian colors, raised the *red* flag, and returned down the Danube. The color adopted was a significant one, and it excited so much indignation at Presburg, the former place of meeting of the Magyar Diet, that the boat was fired at from the bank. But both at Vienna and at Pesth, the populace greeted it with shouts. Another deputation, sent a week afterwards to the constituent assembly at Vienna, was refused an audience ; and the indignant Magyars instantly proclaimed Kossuth dictator with full powers, and sent out forces to meet Jellachich, who had already crossed the Drave. Yet the emperor made one other attempt at pacification, though it was obvious that the hour had passed. Count Lamberg, a marshal of the empire, was

sent to Pesth with full powers to treat and to take command of the forces. The count bravely set out on foot from Buda, without an escort, to cross the river and hold a conference with the Diet in Pesth. But he was arrested by a furious mob on the bridge, and though he claimed protection as a minister of peace between the emperor and Kossuth, he was brutally murdered, and his remains were treated with shocking indignity.

The crisis had now arrived, and important events succeeded each other with great rapidity. The emperor issued a proclamation denouncing Kossuth and his partisans, dissolving the Diet, annulling its previous acts, proclaiming martial law throughout Hungary, and appointing the Ban Jellachich commander of all the imperial forces there, with full powers as royal commissioner. Some of the troops then at Vienna were ordered to march to the assistance of Jellachich; but when they attempted to leave the city, the insurrection, fed with supplies of men and money by the Magyars, broke out with great violence. The national assembly was overawed, the emperor was again obliged to fly, Count Latour, the minister of war, was murdered and his body was hung up for hours as a target for the insurgents to fire at, and *terrorism* was again triumphant in Vienna. The Czechs of Bohemia, so recently subdued by the cannon of Windischgrätz, now joined hands with their brother Slavonians from Croatia; they adopted the emperor's cause with enthusiasm, and invited him to transfer his residence to his loyal city of Prague, where every other house had been half ruined by his artillery. Prince Windischgrätz, with his ranks recruited from these reconciled subjects of the empire, moved up his army to assist Von Auersperg in the investment of Vienna; and Jellachich, already advanced half way in his northward course from the Drave towards Pesth, turned quickly to the northwest, and, passing by Raab, came to interpose with his corps between the city and the succor which the insurgents had been led to expect from Hungary. The Magyar "insurrection" was not yet brought into the field and organized, so that but few troops could be sent to the assistance of the Viennese; and these came late, and were easily defeated and driven back by the Ban. Kossuth, it must be confessed, made politic use of his radical friends in the capital; their outbreak, into which

he had incited them, gave employment for several weeks to three armies of the imperialists, which would otherwise have been immediately directed upon Hungary, where they would have crushed the rebellion before its forces were developed. The interval afforded by the siege of Vienna was employed by the Magyars in collecting their forces, and forming their plans for the desperate struggle which was to come. Vienna was taken by assault on the 31st of October,* Blum and Messenhauser, two leaders of the insurgents, were shot, and a third, Bem, the celebrated Polish refugee, escaped only by taking the place of a corpse in a bier, and was carried out of the gates by the funeral procession. Faithful to his profession as a military propagandist of the revolutionary cause in many lands, Bem hastened to offer his services to the Magyars, and received the command of their forces in Transylvania. Windischgrätz and Jellachich led their forces down the Danube to the capture of Pesth, and the war in Hungary was fairly begun.

Even at this late hour, had the Magyars been willing to adopt a conciliatory policy, and to promise to the Croats and other Slavonians that they should be admitted to an equality of civil and political rights with themselves, should be allowed to speak their own language, to elect their own provincial rulers, and to be represented in the national Diet in proportion to their numbers, the whole population of Hungary, including its dependent provinces, might have been united in arms, and Austria must have withdrawn her forces in despair. A country inhabited by fourteen millions of people, unanimous in their desire to be free, could never have been subdued by armies from without. So strongly were the Polish refugees impressed with this truth, that they repeatedly urged Kossuth and his party to negotiate with the Croatsians; Dembinski, their ablest general, had quitted Paris on the stipulated condition with the agent of Hungary, who had been sent to ask his aid and that of his exiled countrymen, that the Magyars should consent to make a treaty with the Slavonians, and

* The people of Vienna afterwards avenged themselves by caricatures on the Magyars, who had promised to die for the German democracy, and had done so little to keep their word. One print represented a member of the Academical Legion, on the top of the tower of St. Stephen's, turning a telescope towards Hungary, and saying, "I do not see that anybody is coming."

guarantee to them their local liberties and their nationality. Uniting his influence with that of Bem, for the Poles, being themselves a Sclavonic race, were all anxious to unite their Croatian and Slowack brethren with them in hostility to Austria, he succeeded in causing the forces of the insurgents to be denominated the Magyar-Sclavonic army. But this was the whole concession which they were able to extort from their allies. The Magyars were fighting to support the old dominion of their race and the ancient constitution of Hungary, which secured to them, though they were less than four and a half millions in number, the entire control of a country peopled by fourteen millions. To make terms with Jellachich would be to give up the whole object of the war ; for the union with Austria had never been felt by them as a burden, and ever since the Vienna revolution of March, 1848, that union had been merely nominal. With an independent Diet, an independent ministry, and a Palatine elected by themselves, they could dictate their own terms to the crippled and distracted empire ; and of their own accord, they had kept up for six months an apparent connection with it, as both their political and commercial interests would have suffered from an absolute separation. The war had originated in September, in what they called "the rebellion" of the Croatsians, the Slowacks, the Wallachians, and the Saxon colonists of Transylvania ; and some time elapsed before Austria became fairly involved in it by espousing the cause of "the rebels," hoping thereby to regain a portion of her lost authority. Consequently, the first object of the Magyars was to crush their internal foes ; while the Polish exiles, their allies, sought only to avenge their country's ancient wrongs by destroying the Austrian empire, and even menacing the Czar. This division of purpose caused a division also of the forces of the insurgents. In the south and east, Bem and Dembinski commanded each a separate partisan corps, a motley collection of exiles, deserters, and fugitives of whatever race ; for as these generals had no antipathy to the other Hungarian races, they sought to entice as many of them as possible to their own standards, and to wage a war of extermination against those who continued to act with the enemy. The main body of the Magyars, being thus protected in their rear and on their flanks from the Sclavonic, Wallachian, and Saxon insurgents, were

free to act under Görgey, a general of their own race, against the forces of the Austrians, whom they would probably have overmatched, if the impolitic and ruthless conduct of Bem had not afforded a pretence for the emperor Nicholas to enter into the conflict.

We cannot follow in detail the history of the war, and can notice but briefly the circumstances which led to the most important event in it, the intervention of Russia. Nowhere was the outbreak of actual hostilities regarded with more dismay than in Transylvania. The unhappy Saxons and Wallachians found themselves exposed to the utmost fury of the Magyars and Szeklers, while, by their isolated position in the east, they were deprived of all hope of succor from Austria and the west of Germany. The great central plain of Hungary was occupied by the Magyar "insurrection," now developed to its full extent; Jellachich and his Croations in the south had now enough to do to defend themselves. Central Hungary is traversed by two great rivers, the Danube and the Theiss, running from north to south, and forming excellent successive lines of defence. Far in the west, the imperialist army had to cross this vast and defensible plain, admirably suited for the operations of cavalry, in which the chief strength of the Hungarians consisted, and to vanquish the whole Magyar nation, before they could throw troops into Transylvania. The first object of Kossuth was to put down with great severity all opposition in this province, so that the Magyars might be protected in their rear, and, if necessary, might retreat safely in that quarter into a woody and mountainous region. Bands of the fierce and warlike Szeklers were therefore sent out in all directions, who hunted the unarmed Wallachian peasants like wolves, and menaced the fortified cities of the Saxons. Terror everywhere prevailed, as the Austrian general Puchner, who commanded in the province, had only a few troops, who could offer no serious defence. The grave German burghers were unused to war, and the Wallachians were an unarmed and undisciplined crowd.

But a hasty attempt was made to organize their means of protection. A junto of government was formed, under the presidency of Puchner, consisting of two deputies from the Saxon cities, and the Greek bishop Schaguna, who, with a rich merchant, named Argidau, represented the Wallachians.

The district of Bistritz, in the north, was already in possession of the enemy, and such forces as this junto could collect were drawn together to cover Cronstadt and Hermanstadt in the south. Against these cities, in January, 1849, General Bem, who had left his coffin, advanced at the head of 10,000 men, composed of Poles, Szeklers, Kossuth's hussars, and a few Wallachians incorporated by compulsion with their enemies. He marched rapidly through the duchy, ravaging and burning on his way the Wallachian villages and Saxon settlements in the upper country, and driving the few Austrian troops towards Hermanstadt. Fugitives coming from every quarter, and driving before them their wearied beasts and flocks, sought refuge in this city ; looking back from its walls, they could see the smoke of their burning villages, and fancy that they heard the cries of the aged and the feeble, who had fallen on the road, and were now suffering all the extremities of civil war from the savage Szeklers. As Bem's object was to terrify the poor Wallachian peasants into inaction during the war, and as their former degraded condition and their use of a different language caused his men to regard them hardly as human beings, though they were to be punished as runaway and contumacious serfs, the atrocities committed by his army almost exceed belief. An English officer, who was taken prisoner by him at Clausenburg, and detained for weeks under a constantly repeated threat of being tried by a drum-head court martial and shot, gives a vivid account of the barbarity of his troops.

"At Marosvasarhély," he writes, "in the prison where I slept, a Wallachian priest and his nephew were murdered at my side ; the soldiers had been ordered to conduct them to Debreczin, but they wished to save themselves this trouble. Six Saxons had the same fate, and were shot down by the soldiers who had been detailed to guard them. But few detachments of prisoners arrived at their destination ; they were generally murdered in some defile. On the morning of the 12th of March, while passing through the last forest which separated us from the frontier, we suddenly heard a volley of musketry ; a quarter of an hour afterwards, we came to an opening in the woods, where I found the bodies, still warm, of seventeen Wallachians. The Szeklers who had just shot them joined my escort, and when asked if their prisoners had given them any cause of complaint, 'No, truly,' answered one of them ; 'but thank God, there are now alive seventeen Wallachians less than there were yesterday.'"

We may imagine how much consternation was created by the appearance of Bem's army before Hermanstadt, the fortifications of which, once strong, were now quite incapable of resisting an attack. The dismayed Saxons sent an urgent request to General Luder, who commanded a small Russian army in the neighboring principality, that he would hasten to their protection. Bishop Schaguna and Professor Gottfried hastened to Bucharest, that they might represent to the Russian commander the imminent peril in which the city was placed. They urged that they were cut off from all communication with the Austrian government, and in view of the massacre of their countrymen and the pillage of their towns, they appealed to the generosity of their neighbors to protect them. They solicited a purely local intervention, as neither government as yet had solicited or offered a more general coöperation of their forces. Puchner at first refused to join in this application, but finally sanctioned it when the peril seemed more imminent. Common humanity, or the secret orders of his government which might have anticipated this conjuncture of events, may have induced Luder to grant the succor that was asked. At any rate, on the 1st of February, General Engelhardt, at the head of 10,000 Russians, entered Transylvania, and occupied both Hermanstadt and Cronstadt. The Austrian ministry were so far from being pleased at this event, that they despatched a courier with orders to prevent the admission of the Russians; and when he came too late, another was sent to urge them to withdraw. Elated by the first rapid success of the imperialists, by the capture of Pesth and the withdrawal of the Magyars to the line of the Theiss, the Austrians thought they should be able to end the war without foreign aid. But the desperate valor of the Hungarians soon changed the current of events; and when his armies were driven back on all sides, and even Vienna was menaced, the emperor himself was compelled to solicit that aid which he had at first rebuked his subjects for asking. One of the earliest reverses of fortune was caused by the insufficiency of Engelhardt's detachment to protect the whole Saxon district in the south of Transylvania.

When the Russians first entered Hermanstadt, Bem was deceived by an exaggerated report of their strength, and he retired into the mountains of the Szeklers. On learning his

mistake, and that the Russian force was divided, he appeared again before the city and offered battle, which was accepted by Puchner and Engelhardt. The impetuosity of Bem's troops, and a want of concert between the Austrians and Russians, gave the honor of the day to the former, though the Russians retreated in good order to Hermanstadt. But as they had found that their number was too small to effect any thing important, and the coldness of the Austrian ministry in respect to them had excited a natural resentment, they determined the next day to evacuate the city and to leave Transylvania. This determination threw the citizens into despair, and the weaker part of the population resolved, as the only mode of escaping the extremities of war, to remove along with the Russians into Wallachia. A numerous train of country vehicles of all sorts were hastily laden with their most precious effects, and a crowd of old men, women, and children, some on foot, and some riding on the overladen carts, prepared to go forth, under the escort of these foreigners, to exile and beggary, rather than to await their barbarous conquerors. It was still the depth of winter; the roads were encumbered with ice and snow, and a narrow and difficult defile along the river Aluta was to be passed before the fugitives could arrive at Kinien, the nearest village of Wallachia. The pass was a famous one; by this route, in former years, war and pestilence had passed from Turkey into Transylvania. After many alarms and much suffering, the fugitives arrived at Kinien late at night, and were received by the garrison of Russians and Turks with much hospitality. The officers gave up their tents and their beds to the women and children, the sick and the wounded received every attention, and all had leisure to reflect on the homes which they had left, and the beggary that awaited them. The fate of those who remained in Hermanstadt was pitiable indeed. Bem gave up the city to the utmost license of his troops for three whole days; those who were found bearing arms were shot, and others, who had joined in the request to the Russian commander, were brought before a council of war. The terror created by the inhuman conduct of Bem's army had the desired effect; he experienced no more opposition from the inhabitants of Transylvania, and was able to extend his incursions into the Banat, and to coöperate with the troops who were acting against Jellachich.

The loss of Transylvania, and the recapture of Buda-Pesth by the Magyars, with other reversals of fortune, humbled the pride of the imperialists, and disposed them to seek that intervention which they had but recently rejected. On the other hand, the emperor Nicholas was anxious to retrieve the credit of his army, which had suffered from the battle with Bem, and the retreat from Hermanstadt. The terms of co-operation being soon adjusted, the ablest marshal of the Russian army entered Hungary at the head of an imposing force, and from that moment the issue of the contest was really decided; the gallantry of the Magyars might protract the struggle, but could give no hope of ultimate success. They had provoked too many enemies; of the half a dozen races which make up the mixed population of the Austrian empire, every one was hostile to them. Their pride and indomitable obstinacy prevented them from making any attempt at conciliation; and Görgey, their last and ablest commander, rather than unite his troops with those of Dembinski, who had made some concessions and promises to the Slavonians, and thereby partially recruited his ranks from them, preferred to surrender his whole army without conditions to the Russians. The Magyars have fallen, and there are few to lament their fate but the Red Republicans of France and Germany, and the refugee Poles, who were their only foreign allies. They have fallen in an unwise attempt to preserve their ancient feudal institutions, their supremacy as a race, and their national independence against the reforms demanded by the spirit of the age, against the equality of political rights which could no longer be refused to their ancient subjects, and against the union with Austria which is a necessity of their geographical position.

Austria has sullied her victory, — or rather her success, for the battle was really fought and won by the Slavonians and the Russians, — by her merciless treatment of the vanquished. The blood of Bathiany and of fifty others will cry out against her from the ground upon which she has poured it in her reckless thirst of vengeance for the humiliation that she has suffered. The execution of these men was no less impolitic than cruel; it has changed into gall the last drop of affection for their ancient ally which may have lingered in the hearts of the Hungarians. Henceforward, this race,

whenever an opportunity may offer, will be foremost among the enemies of the house of Hapsburg. The gallantry with which they had fought, whatever were the defects in their cause, was enough, in the eyes of a generous enemy, to entitle them to surrender with all the honors of war. Austria has wrested the sword from them only to plunge it into their bosoms ; and a constant sense of insecurity for the future, in relation to this part of her dominions, once her bulwark against all foreign foes, will be the appropriate punishment of her cruelty. England committed the same crime or blunder, we care not which it may be called, after suppressing the Irish rebellion of 1798 ; and the consequence is, that Ireland has been in a chronic state of rebellion ever since. When will sovereigns learn, that mercy and magnanimity are the highest attributes of human policy as well of divine law ?

ART. IV. — *The Liberty of Rome : a History. With an Historical Account of the Liberty of Ancient Nations.*
By SAMUEL ELIOT. New York : G. P. Putnam. 1849.
2 vols. 8vo.

MR. ELIOT proposes to write the History of Liberty in a work of which the two volumes already published are but the beginning. Aside from the execution of his plan, there is something noticeable in the choice of the subject. It indicates of itself views of the progress of humanity so far original and just as to authorize the belief that they belong to no common mind. For the history of liberty must be the central history of mankind. Why, it may be asked, more than the history of civil government, of social or political civilization, of science or art, of philosophy, or, though last yet greatest, of religion ? Because all of these are but subservient to the progress of liberty ; they are all means to that end ; by its value are their value, by its advancement are their progress and efficiency, measured. But in saying this, we use the word liberty in a very high sense.

Freedom in some degree is the gift of God to all men. It is his first gift to them ; the condition precedent of all gifts,